FEBRUARY 1990 $3.50

California JOURNAL

INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

BLIC SERVICE JOURNALISM
20th
ANNIVERSARY

San Diego's Lucy Killea shakes up politics

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Our plans for expansion really came together when the Lubbock BCD chipped in to help."

James P. Stonehocker, Plant Manager
Frito-Lay, Incorporated

Frito-Lay was already well-aware of the advantages of putting a plant in Lubbock, Texas. The city's central Sunbelt location, reasonable costs, quality of life and strong work ethic — along with its proximity to good Texas corn, potatoes and cotton seed oil — have made the operation here a real success for the past 32 years.

But recently, when it was time to start planning a multi-million dollar expansion, Frito-Lay got something unexpected from the Board of City Development.

In a refreshing contrast to other cities that only offer red tape to companies on the grow, Lubbock did everything possible to get Frito-Lay's plans off the drawing board and on the right track. Now, both city and company are looking forward to the next three decades together.

If your present location is doing nothing but chipping away at your profitability, contact the Lubbock Board of City Development today.

LUBBOCK
LOOK. LISTEN. LUBBOCK. NOW.

LUBBOCK
Board of
City Development

2005 Broadway, P. O. Box 5948
Lubbock, Texas 79417
806-744-0743
FAX (806) 744-0792

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FEBRUARY 1990
VOLUME XXI, NUMBER 2

California JOURNAL

The 1990 Roster and Government Guide

California Journal's *most popular publication — the annual compilation of who's who and who's where in California government. The 1990 edition has been completely updated to include all newly-elected legislators, newly-appointed committee members and newly-appointed agency and department heads, as well as useful Capitol telephone numbers and a complete roster of the Legislative Analyst's Office. The* Roster *is also available as a reprint as on diskette.*

Lucy Killea's victory 78
Abortion politics turned a state Senate race upside down and helped Lucy Killea to pull off a political upset in San Diego. By James Richardson

Lucy Killea's strategist 80
Lucy Killea's victory helped political consultant and sometime Senate staffer Larry Sheingold solidify his reputation as a political mastermind. By James Richardson

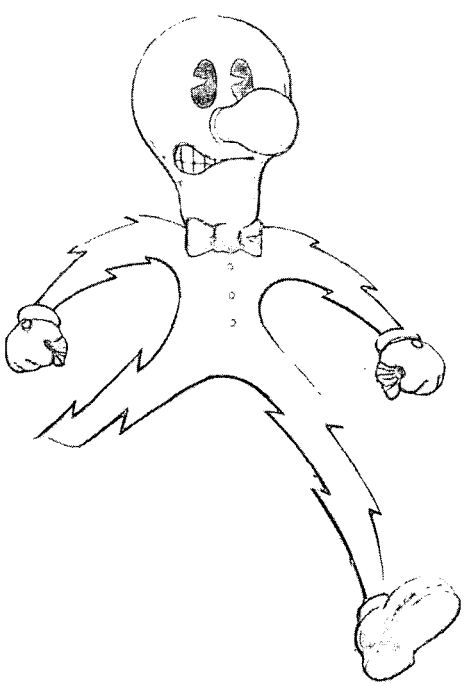
Lawyer-lobbyists 83
Lobbyists who are also lawyers, and who practice both professions, are fast becoming third-house powers. By Sigrid Bathen

Clay Jackson 113
Lawyer-lobbyist Clay Jackson is known as the new "Big Daddy" of the California Legislature. By Sigrid Bathen

Prop. 65 postscript 115
It's been nearly four years since voters passed a landmark initiative meant to reduce the amount of toxic chemicals released into the environment. So, is it working? By Beth Gaston

Merger under fire 119
In 1988 the boards of San Diego Gas and Electric and Southern California Edison voted to merge. It hasn't happened yet, and won't, if San Diegans have anything to say about it. By Anthony Perry

Up Front 76
Ballot Front 122
Washington Perspective 124



Cover photo by Rich Pedroncelli

President and Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; **Editor,** Richard Zeiger; **Managing Editor,** A.G. Block; **Business Manager,** Barbara Rocco; **Production Coordinator,** Roberta-Anne Kaminski; **Staff,** Ellen Chapman, Marnie Fesmire, Dori Meyers, Theresa Nelson, Renee Ravizza, Hope Tuttle, Susan Uher; **Counsel,** Conrad Lee Klein.

Advertising Representative: Jeff Wichmann, (916) 452-3242

Member The Audit Bureau

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $49; Corporations and Associations, $95; Special Individual rate, $32.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1990 by California Journal, Inc. Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT

Governor George Deukmejian is doing a little more thinking about his future these days, what with only 11 months to go before his term expires. He was asked the other day if he'd decided what he wants to do when he finally drops off of the public payroll for the first time in 29 years. The governor was coy, saying he wasn't going to worry about it until the time came. But asked privately if he knew what kind of law he wants to practice once out of office, Deukmejian was more blunt: "The kind that makes lots of money." Our advice: See if Willie Brown needs a partner.

Seedy business. Former Governor Jerry Brown promised he'd raise more money for the state's Democrats than they'd ever seen before, if only they made him state chairman. They did, and Brown has diligently gone about collecting, if you pardon the expression, seed money. In part he's doing it my sending out a mailing to prospective contributors that contains a packet of seeds. "Why a packet of seeds?" asks the mailer. "To plant ... of course." Oh. Of course. "But also because seeds symbolize life ... and hope ... and renewal." Oh. Of course. Well, this certainly is an uplifting appeal, but personally, we don't think it can match the Republican effort that includes a flashlight so that we can become one of the "1000 point of light."

Speaking of junk mail. It's getting harder and harder to get your political message noticed these days. So the fine folks at the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association have attacked the issue head-on. If you can't make the brochure any more enticing, or if you have no surplus seeds around, at least you can make it bigger. One recently mailing, asking for money to combat lawsuits attacking the constitutionality of Proposition 13, was a full 13 inches-by-17 inches in size. No report yet on whether the contributions were any bigger.

Follow-up division. We reported in our December issue that the Legislative Data Center — the group that provides computer services to the state Legislature — hung on to it's old computer until it became obsolete. Well, the folks down there don't want anyone thinking they are that inattentive. Actually, they have bought new models three times since the first one was installed, the latest being in May 1989. All these new computers have cost more than $3.24 million. The old ones were traded in or sold.

Graceful exists, continued. You may remember former Senator William Campbell, who insisted on keeping his Senate seat for a few months even after he announced he would be taking a job as president of the California Manufacturers Association. Campbell saw no conflict in this situation. Well, in one last gesture of appreciation for the citizenry, Campbell took a taxpayer-supported trip to New York where he stayed in $350-per-night hotel rooms, met with bond officials, toured the Metropolitan Museum of Art and took in a show or two.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adding a little Shinola to the old image. A number of lawyers we know have been getting a little testy about the popularity of lawyer jokes. So, apparently to prove they can still laugh at themselves, the State Bar's Continuing Education of the Bar program, run by the University of California, recently published a revised edition of the ever-popular book, 'Mortgage and Deed of Trust Practice.' The illustration on the cover features none other than that displacer of women and orphans, Simon Legree. What next? Perhaps an ambulance to illustrate the volume on Torts?

Leaders are people who do the right thing; managers are people who do things right.
— Warren Bennis

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

Advertisement

Instant Initiative Qualification

Using what are, by far, the State's largest lists of voters who have returned petitions, Advanced Voter Communications will gather as many initiative signatures as you need, by direct mail, in a very short time.

For instance, we will fully qualify a Constitutional Amendment, even to 110%, in 45 days. And we *guarantee* specific numbers of *valid* signatures on a money-back basis.

Advanced Voter Communication's Direct Mail Program can offer many advantages in addition to speed. Our Direct Mail Program:

- Creates a large, statewide name and address list of supporters.
- Establishes a large base of small donors.
- Generates future direct mail fundraising and organizational opportunities.
- Circulates positive information about your initiative which is mailed to about 10 times as many voters as signatures contracted for, at no additional price.
- Eliminates competition for petition circulators.
- Assures that forgeries and other embarrassments will not occur.

Call for information or a proposal on how our Direct Mail Program can quickly supplement your volunteer and paid-petition gathering effort, or for a complete Direct Mail Qualification Program.

714-476-9064

Bill Butcher, ext 202 Arnold Forde, ext 204

Tom Glass, ext 410

Advanced Voter Communications

1001 Dove Street, Suite 205 • Newport Beach, CA 92660

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

San Diego shakes up

By Ji

Lucy Killea was an unlikely candidate for political martyrdom. Throughout a lengthy political career, the grandmotherly, soft-spoken, 67-year-old San Diego assemblywoman traditionally eschewed controversy rather than seek it.

That is, until Catholic Bishop Leo T. Maher, his ire raised by her recent state Senate campaign's pro-choice advertisements, banished the Catholic Killea from receiving Communion. Democrat Killea's campaign, which had been confined to San Diego County, was instantly transformed into a national referendum on abortion — and the diminutive four-term lawmaker became an instant national political celebrity. Within days Killea was appearing on the "Phil Donahue Show" and sitting next to Geraldine Ferraro. Soon after, Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman hosted a New York fund raiser with numerous feminist luminaries. And Killea made the front page of *USA Today* on election day.

Moreover, her victory in what had been considered a rock-solid Republican Senate district, has, at least for the time-being, changed the course of state politics. Safe Republican seats held by anti-abortion Republicans, for the first time, are considered vulnerable. After all, if Lucy Killea could win in a GOP district, maybe someone else could, too.

Lucy Killea?

Noted chiefly for her caution, Killea's previous re-election campaigns had never amounted to anything more controversial than commercials featuring her jogging on the beach to a cute jingle: "Running with Lucy Killea."

As an Assembly member, Killea (pronounced Ka-*lay*) had never been at the forefront of legislators fighting to preserve abortion rights, restore family-planning funds or forestall restrictions on abortion. She has plodded along with solid-but-dull toxic waste and trade bills, barely noticed by re-

---

Jim Richardson, a reporter with The Sacramento Bee's *Capitol bureau, covered the Killea campaign.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

.ucy Killea
ıte politics

ıson

porters other than from the San Diego newspapers. Although Republicans had tried to malign her as an "ally of Willie Brown," in truth Killea had never entered the ranks of Democratic Assembly leaders.

And, in truth, Killea's jam-packed resume looked out of place in the California Legislature. She was overqualified. Killea was an aide to Eleanor Roosevelt in the 1940s, an ex-CIA analyst in the 1950s (even now she will let on very little of what she did), a Ph.D. in Latin American history who directed a foundation on Mexican-U.S. relations and trade. She married the man who recruited her into intelligence work and moved with him when he became a foreign-service officer. She got her start in politics not by sullying herself in an election campaign but by winning the support of Republican Mayor Pete Wilson for an appointment to the San Diego City Council.

Although Killea's recent Senate campaign wasted not a second in exploiting Bishop Maher's actions (thanks to the instincts of her campaign manager, Larry Sheingold), it was the bishop himself who leaked the story to a local television station. For her part, Killea was uncomfortable with having her religion dragged into the campaign. She was quick to change the subject even when people expressed their outrage at what they felt was the Catholic church meddling in electoral politics.

"I had some real problems in terms of the whole religious thing being brought into it," she said soon after the election. "I felt very uncomfortable with having my private life, my spiritual life, being brought into the picture."

Abortion rights activists contended that Killea's election represents the 21st pro-choice vote in the 40-member California Senate in an era when the U.S. Supreme Court, through it's 1989 decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, transformed state legislatures into the principle battleground on abortion.

But was the Killea election strictly a quirky local event? Should her election in a safe Republican district send shud-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ders up the back of every anti-abortion rights Republican?

"I think it was more than just a local election," said Killea. "I think it means this issue is going to override party affiliation. And I don't know why this same thing can't happen elsewhere."

Killea's campaign became something of a Moral Majority in reverse. It brought forth people who had never been active in election campaigns, filled with fervor. Killea got hundreds of volunteers who had never paid attention to politics before the Supreme Court acted in *Webster*. And once the bishop made Killea into a martyr, many of those people were standing at shopping centers and asking people to fill out absentee ballot cards and to vote for Killea. By the hundreds, they were integrated into Killea's campaign as phone-bank workers and precinct walkers. On election night they paraded through her headquarters with pro-choice placards.

"It means a safe Republican district is no longer safe from pro-choice forces," said Robin Schneider, executive director of the Southern California chapter of the California Abortion Rights Action League, an organization that poured volunteers into Killea's Senate campaign. "People in politics were afraid of the other side. What this race does is make them afraid of us. We have reality. We have numbers."

However, Killea's December 5th election results might not have been quite that clear-cut. Killea began the race with some advantages. She was better known and more experienced than her neophyte Republican opponent, Assemblywoman Carol Bentley of El Cajon, a recent graduate of the legislative aide corps who had not yet completed her first year in the Assembly before trying to move to the Senate.

Larry Sheingold: Democrat's miracle worker strikes again

Larry Sheingold wasted no time getting out of San Diego and heading home to Sacramento. The day after successfully managing the state Senate campaign of Democrat Lucy Killea, he packed the contents of a filing cabinet marked "Larry's stuff" and headed for the airport. "When I get home," he said fidgeting at the terminal, "I am going to watch every sports program I can find for three days."

But the next day Sheingold was back at his desk in the state Capitol, where he is on the payroll as an $82,680-a-year aide to Watsonville's Senator Henry Mello, who sits on the Senate Rules Committee and is the Senate's third-ranking Democrat.

As Democratic "whip," Mello is in charge of the Senate Democrats' election machinery. And in recent years that has meant dispatching Sheingold somewhere to organize a campaign for a candidate favored by the Senate Democratic hierarchy.

As he did for Killea, Sheingold periodically drops off the state payroll to manage campaigns at the behest of Mello and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, the top-ranking Democrat.

His success has made Sheingold, 43, the campaign mastermind for Senate Democrats. Robert Forsyth, press secretary to Roberti, calls Sheingold no less than a "miracle worker." Killea calls him a "political junkie." And in a field where nice guys are thought to finish last, even those critical of his political role say Sheingold is a "decent guy."

When Sheingold is at work in the Capitol — which was only about half the year in 1988 — he writes press releases, devises methods of high-tech communications with constituents and performs other odd tasks for Mello. Others may be better as aides and legislative technicians, but no one is more valuable to Senate Democrats than Sheingold.

Sheingold has engineered several critical Democratic election victories and along the way introduced a number of campaign innovations. For Cecil Green, at the time a Norwalk City Council member, Sheingold's operation fueled a get-out-the-vote drive by exchanging donuts for voters' ballot stubs. The donuts were more than a gimmick; the Democrats used vans equipped with car phones to whisk voters to the polls.

For Killea, Sheingold expanded an innovation pioneered for Green — a sophisticated absentee-ballot drive that, in effect, made every day election day during the seven-week campaign.

Anything but Hollywood's image of a slick political consultant, the bearded and portly Sheingold disdains ties and business suits. He speaks softly but graphically. Where other consultants enjoy basking in flamboyance, Sheingold keeps a low profile both in the Capitol and on the campaign trail. His wife, Judy, is a registered nurse. They have cats but no children.

With his partner, Rose King of Sacramento, Sheingold is co-owner of Directions, a political-consulting firm that has managed campaigns in New Orleans, Miami and throughout California. He earned $12,000 a month in 1988 running campaigns while off the state payroll.

In 1989 Sheingold dropped off the payroll for seven weeks to direct Killea's Senate campaign. Directions was paid $10,000 a month for two months' work. Sheingold will take his operation on the road in 1990, possibly north. The most likely target is Senator Jim Nielsen, a Republican from Rohnert Park, whom Democrats believe is vulnerable.

The Legislature's critics have pointed to Sheingold as the quintessential example of a breed of Capitol staffers who park on the state payroll between elections, representing an indirect campaign subsidy taxpayers provide for incumbents.

But far from apologetic, Sheingold has maintained that having staff members work in campaigns makes them better staffers. "I wish both the staff and the Legislature were more political," he said soon after managing a 1987 Senate special election. "I look at it as being responsive to popular demand."

Sheingold got his start as a volunteer in Democrat Jesse Unruh's unsuccessful bid for governor against Ronald Reagan in 1970. "I worked my way up to where I was being reimbursed for mileage," recalled Sheingold.

A year later Sheingold got a job with the Assembly's Majority Consultants office, the in-house political arm of Assembly Democrats. From there, he helped Mello win an Assembly seat in 1976 and moved with him to the Senate four years later.

In 1986 Sheingold directed the re-election of Senator Dan McCorquodale of San Jose in a tough race against a strong Republican challenger. Two years ago his strategy overcame the odds to elect Green in a special election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For a brief moment, Bentley seemed on the verge of a coronation to the Senate soon after Senator Larry Stirling of San Diego abruptly resigned his seat at the close of the 1989 legislative session to take a judgeship in San Diego Municipal Court. Stirling, himself a former assemblyman, had won the seat handily only in 1988 following the retirement of incumbent GOP Senator Jim Ellis. Thus, the 39th Senate District seat should have been safe for another Republican; in this case, Bentley. Republicans held a 50 percent to 39 percent registration edge, and Bentley won quick endorsements from Republican majordomos.

But, Democratic polls had shown strong support for the pro-choice abortion position, cutting across party lines in the district. The district was 90 percent Anglo — meaning few Hispanic Catholics — and largely middle-class to upper-income. Democratic strategists were further emboldened by the victory of Tricia Rae Hunter, a pro-choice Republican who bucked an anti-abortion candidate favored by conservative Assembly GOP leaders in an August special election in San Diego. Hunter's Assembly district overlaps the 39th Senate District.

"I had, frankly, no interest in running against Larry Stirling," said Killea, asked why she had not tried to move to the Senate seat a year earlier. "But then when it became vacant again, and there was no obvious heir apparent, I began to think about it. We did our in-depth poll which showed there were some very issue-oriented people here and my positions were much more in line with the ones that were expressed in the poll than my opponent's."

Soon after entering the race, Killea began airing televi-

Sheingold returned to Norwalk a year later to help Green get re-elected.

Killea's December 5th victory marked Sheingold's most improbable success yet. Her campaign received national attention when Catholic Bishop Leo T. Maher banned her from receiving Communion because of her vocal pro-choice stance on abortion. But she could not have won without a campaign organization that was ready to capitalize on her notoriety, when it came. It was a form Sheingold perfected during the Cecil Green campaigns.

"Lucy's campaign is absolutely the same campaign we did with Cecil," said Sheingold.

Killea took a Senate seat for the Democrats that was supposed to be safe for Republicans. She won in a district where the GOP held a registration edge of 50 percent to the Democrats' 39 percent.

Larry Sheingold

Well before the bishop turned the election into a referendum on abortion, Sheingold and other legislative staffers descended on San Diego for the short campaign, staying in low-rent motels and working out of a union hall. Some wore sweat shirts left over from Green's campaign emblazoned with the words "Roberti's Raiders." They drank and played pool after-hours at a dumpy bar in El Cajon.

Others with connections to the Democratic legislative staff played key roles, including ex-Assembly staffers Jim Moore, who polled for Killea, Kirk Briggs who produced her signs and Jim Alford, who organized the absentee-ballot operation.

A week before the election, Killea's El Cajon campaign headquarters was brimming with Democratic legislative employees on leave from Sacramento. She walked precincts accompanied by Tom Higgins, a consultant to an Assembly subcommittee she chairs.

The cornerstone to the vote-by-mail operation was in identifying Killea voters and getting them to vote absentee before her opponent, Republican Assemblywoman Carol Bentley of El Cajon, could persuade them to change their minds.

Killea's campaign used computers to analyze presidential election data in each neighborhood, identifying which could be depended on to vote for Democrats. Neighborhoods that voted heavily for Walter Mondale — like San Diego's Hillcrest section — were considered likely Killea voters.

Precinct walkers — dubbed "SWAT teams" — went door-to-door to pitch for Killea. They were paid $2 for each absentee-ballot application sent to the county registrar. However, as it turned out, the paid walkers did not do as well as volunteers at shopping centers — even after weeding out applications from voters who did not live in the district.

The campaign made a special effort to find Republican women who would vote for Killea, considering them the key swing vote in the district. The campaign split up the Republican women into two categories. Campaign volunteers telephoned Democratic voters and Republican women under age 40, dispatching absentee-ballot applications to those expressing a willingness to vote for Killea.

Meanwhile, volunteers from an abortion-rights organization telephoned Republican women over age 40, and identified about 1500 who would vote for Killea. The organization, the California Abortion Rights Action League ran four phone banks for Killea. Until August, the organization had never been active in an election campaign. That changed with the Supreme Court's 1989 decision allowing state's to limit state-paid abortions for the poor (*Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*).

Each absentee application — a facsimile of the county registrar's form — had a tear-off bottom encoded with information about the voter for logging in a campaign computer.

Abortion was the biggest, but by no means the only absentee vote-getter. Sheingold estimated Killea got about 1700 absentee voter applications from a mailer touting her police endorsements. All of it added up.

The campaign workers themselves, including Sheingold, spent their evenings at shopping centers with portable ironing boards set up as tables to sign up absentee voters.

"We decided the only way you could win is to do a seven-week get-out-the vote drive. Every day was election day," said Sheingold.

By December 5th Killea's campaign had more than 17,000 absentee votes. In fact, without the absentees, Killea would have lost on election day by 2453 votes.

"There is no question in my mind," Sheingold said, "that if we had just tried to get people to the polls on election day, we would have lost."

— Jim Richardson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion commercials featuring her sitting at a table telling someone (off camera) that her election represented the 21st pro-choice vote in the Senate (abortion arithmetic in the Senate is a good deal more complicated than that, but she was essentially correct).

Her manager, Larry Sheingold, said the ads were deliberate bait for anti-abortion activists. He said he hoped someone — preferably Bentley — would over-react. "It's like chumming in fishing," said Sheingold. "We didn't know who would take the bait."

Senator Lucy Killea

What Sheingold could not possibly have imagined — or scripted — was *who* would react.

Just as the commercials hit, Bishop Maher returned from a bishop's conference in Baltimore where the chief topic of conversation was getting tough on Catholic politicians who were pro-choice. Maher had never been known for political activism; he was known more as a "builder" of schools and other church facilities. But Maher had an active anti-abortion wing in his diocese that needed placating. One of his priests was in jail for blockading an abortion clinic. In the view of a number of San Diego Catholic observers, he found an easy way to do it: punish Killea.

"She brought these things on when I returned," the bishop explained in one of many interviews he granted soon after he sanctioned Killea. "No Catholic can be responsibly pro-choice because it means they are promoting the death of the unborn."

Maher said the sanctions were only "pastoral," that he was only acting as a priest trying to get Killea's attention and correct whatever damage she was creating amongst Catholics. An anti-abortion newsletter justified it as trying to "save her immortal soul."

But Maher never counseled Killea as a priest might who was worried about her soul. In his own 'round-about way, Maher acknowledged his motives reached beyond the altar at Killea's parish. "The fact was that it would be useless to make a statement when the ads were off," he said.

Maher was as taken aback as anyone by the whirlwind of attention that was paid to him outside of San Diego. "I am amazed how a statement of this type, which is a local thing, could kind of electrify the whole media and the people in the whole United States," the bishop said.

In the aftermath, Republican leaders blamed their loss squarely on the bishop. "It is obvious the voters of the 39th Senate District did not approve of San Diego Catholic Bishop Leo Maher's perceived intervention in this campaign," said Senate Republican leader Ken Maddy of Fresno. "There is strong sentiment in our nation for a separation of church and state."

And from Bentley: "The bishop's action created an international celebrity and a martyr. I, of course, would have appreciated it ... if he had waited until after the election."

There were many San Diego Republicans who believed privately that Bentley had blown the race, that a more experienced campaigner could have turned it around. Bentley passed up appearing on Donahue's show because, she said, it would have meant missing the Mother Goose Parade in El Cajon.

One of the few Republicans to say publicly what others were saying privately was Otto Bos, campaign manager for Pete Wilson. "I would have put Bentley in front of the church and had her say, 'I don't think the bishop should have stuck his nose in this.'"

Was Killea's success a fluke? Can other Democrats repeat it elsewhere in supposedly safe Republican districts? Not necessarily. First, Killea herself is a unique candidate. A popular former city councilwoman and vice mayor, Killea has repeatedly won election to the Assembly from a district where voter registration favors Republicans. Second, not every district is as pro-choice as the 39th Senate District. And Catholic bishops are not likely to banish candidates from the communion rail in every race.

Or will they? Bishop Maher hinted that some statewide political figures who are pro-choice and Catholic may have to contend with their bishops, particularly Attorney General John Van de Kamp, the Democratic front-runner for governor.

"I think he will have a lot of problems when he comes up for election," Maher said. "You ought to wait to see what will happen. He's not in my jurisdiction."

While Killea rode to victory in a district that was mostly non-Catholic and very pro-choice, for Van de Kamp, Catholic sanctions could pose problems. Van de Kamp was the only statewide Democrat who walked precincts with Killea a week before the election, and the only statewide Democrat who appeared with her on election night. "Forgetting this controversy, I'd be down here anyway," he said. "She's the kind of person I like to see get elected."

But Van de Kamp consistently side-stepped Killea's controversy with the church. "I think it's counter-productive."

The church-state-abortion political mixture also put Democratic Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti in a most peculiar position. An outspoken foe of abortion rights, Roberti nonetheless threw the weight of his considerable campaign organization behind Killea.

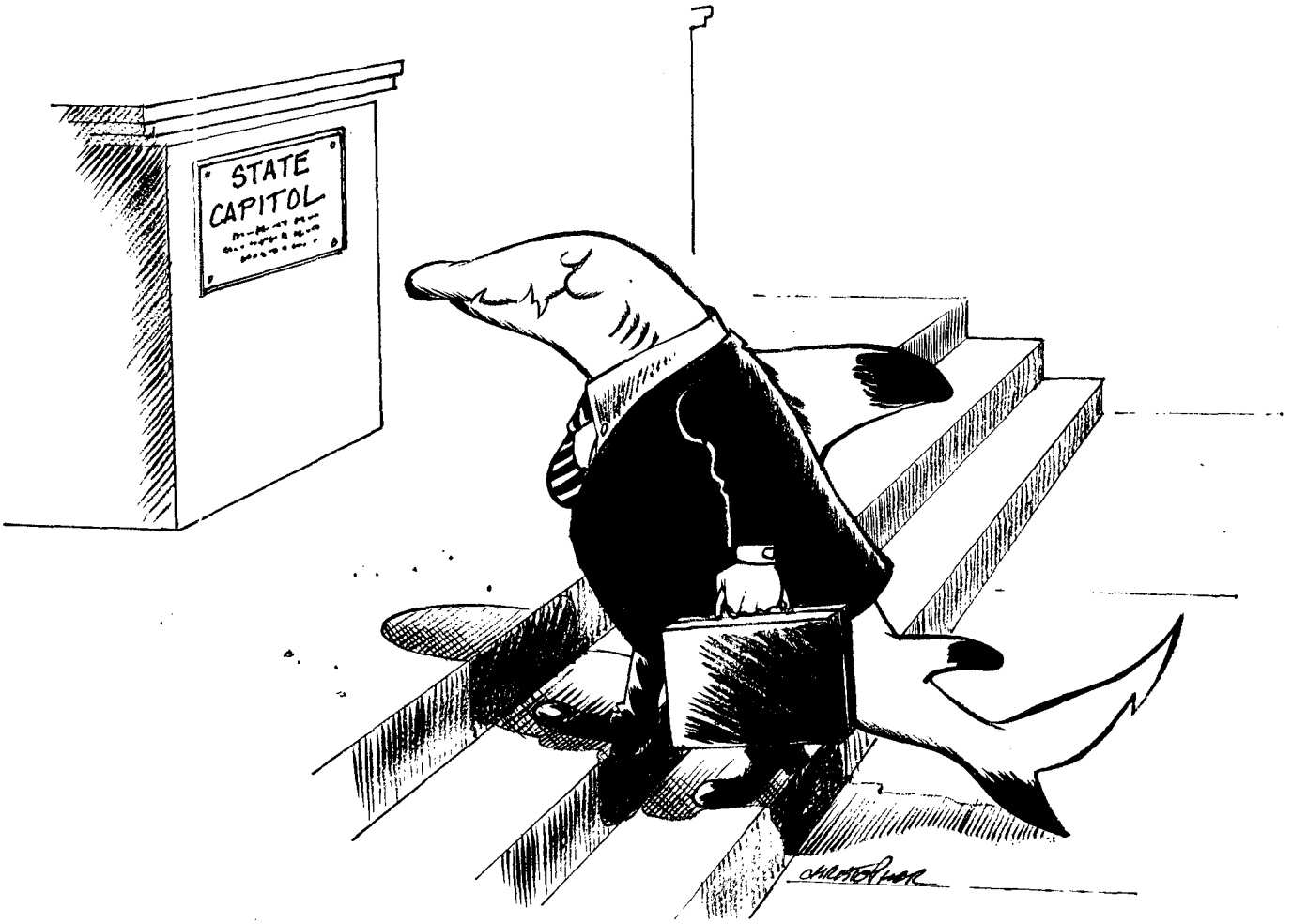
"It was clear I don't agree with her on the abortion question, and that's my position now and will be my position. But we agree on a whole range of issues, and I am not a single-issue person so I felt my conscience was clear," said Roberti.

Nor did Roberti read into Killea's victory much about abortion politics statewide. "My own feeling is, I think the issue plays more in a special election than in a regular election. In a regular election there are other pro-choice Republicans."

For Roberti, the bigger lesson was that Democratic innovations in organizing precincts and absentee ballots were working. "Something that's never gotten any attention is we were better organized, had a better campaign and worked harder at it," Roberti said.

All true, Killea says, but she also believes her election demonstrated how the volatility of abortion can help Democrats. "It's not the bishop, or some of the other things, that made choice the issue. The issue was already there," Killea said.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Lawyer-lobbyists become big fish in the Capital pond

By Sigrid Bathen

For Vigo Gilbert "Chip" Nielsen Jr., the road to managing partner of the prominent political and government law firm of Nielsen, Merksamer, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller began more than two decades ago when he was an administrative assistant in the state Assembly. That was 1966, and Nielsen moved quickly up the ladder, becoming an assistant deputy state controller in 1967, chief administrative officer for the Assembly in 1969 and chief of staff to then-Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke in 1970.

Two years later, Nielsen founded a law firm which was to become a powerful force in state and national politics. It is safe to say that very little of any consequence occurs in state political and governmental circles — particularly Republican circles — without the knowledge or active involvement of the firm, which since 1987 has included among its senior partners Steve Merksamer — former chief of staff to and longtime friend of Governor George Deukmejian — and, since 1986, former Assembly Minority Leader Robert Naylor.

And, although Nielsen has always emphasized a concentration on the *law*, not on *lobbying*, his firm — like so many other prominent California law firms — has become an active player in the profitable capital lobbying trade. For Nielsen, Merksamer, lobbying primarily means the state's plethora of administrative agencies rather than the Legislature, which increasingly turns over the essential functions of running the state to the bureaucracy.

"To be able to do what we do well, I like my lawyers showing up in the office every morning," Nielsen says, "and I like them to look in the library and let others look toward the big white dome."

"They do not practice law," Nielsen says of many legislative lobbyists. "They lobby. They get up in the morning and say, 'I have bills I have to kill, bills I have to amend, relationships I need to create, clients who want accountability on how I spend my time.'"

Nonetheless, according to the recently released 1988 Report on Lobbying by the Fair Political Practices Commission, the 1988 income of Nielsen, Merksamer's 24-lawyer firm (about a fifth of whom are registered lobbyists) included more than $1 million in lobbying fees paid by such major corporate and business interests as the Food Industry Safety Council ($125,305), R. J.

Sigrid Bathen teaches journalism at Sacramento State University and once was press secretary to Attorney General John Van de Kamp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reynolds Tobacco Company ($106,058), Merck Sharp & Dohme ($94,795), the California Unitary Tax Council ($93,871), and $87,364 each from Lorillard, American Tobacco Company, Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation, and Philip Morris — to name just a few.

Those figures do not include fees paid for pure lawyering — the political and government law component which remains the central function of the firm. Consultations for legal advice are generally not reportable on state disclosure forms and — at least on paper — are kept totally separate from lobbying fees.

The entry of major political and government law firms into Capital lobbying has been explosive in recent years, and the reasons for the trend are as complex as government itself. Much of the lobbying reported by law firms involves administrative agencies, and lawyers who traditionally have handled government-law issues for administrative agencies find themselves naturally drawn into lobbying as a critical aspect of their trade.

"Government is getting increasingly complex," says Merksamer, who is not a registered lobbyist. "Private-

Knox

sector individuals and companies are having a more difficult time with government, and they need help. They are looking for specialists."

Whether they practice political and government law, lobby agencies or the Legislature, a key element of such firms is the hard governmental expertise of its members, which in some firms now includes non-lawyer lobbyists with experience in government.

Merksamer started his law career as a deputy in the state attorney general's office, climbing to become then-Attorney General Deukmejian's special assistant, then his chief of staff when Deukmejian became governor in 1983. He says a "special expertise," often not learned in law school, is required to succeed in governmental law and lobbying.

"I don't think the average honors graduate from Harvard Law School can

Franchetti

effectively practice government law," Merksamer says. "That's not to say you have to have been in it to be good at it, but I think it helps tremendously. It is a very technical, very complex arena."

Lobbying itself can be extremely lucrative — a fact certainly not lost on the law firms which have entered the field.

Of the seven lobbying firms making more than $1 million, according to the 1988 FPPC report, the top moneymaker, Clay Jackson — who made $1.76 million — is a lawyer, and three others are law firms: Nossaman, Guthner, Knox and Elliott, which includes several former legislators among its partners and was the third-largest in fees, with more than $1.2 million earned in 1988; Heron, Burchette, Ruckert and Rothwell, a major Washington, D.C.-based international law firm which in recent years has become a heavy hitter in the law-lobbying business around the state Capitol, bringing in more than $1.1 million in lobbying fees in 1988, putting it in sixth place; and Nielsen, Merksamer, which was seventh in the spending report, with $1.08 million.

The highest paid lobbyist in California for several years running and a pioneer in the law-lobbying combination, Jackson operates a lobbying firm, Jackson/Barish, and is a partner in the old-line San Francisco law firm of Sullivan, Roche and Johnson, which also reported earning $68,783 in lobbying fees in 1988 (see story, page 113).

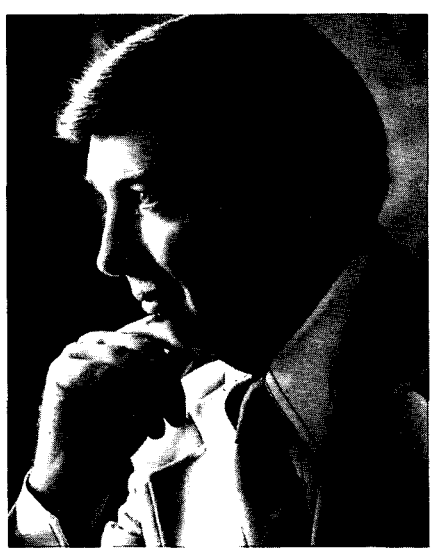
Jackson, like many lawyers who end up as lobbyists, entered lobbying purely by accident when in 1970 he joined the San Francisco law firm of a prominent California lobbyist, John "Packey" McFarland.

"Back in those days before specialization, counsel for certain types of businesses — banks, utilities, insurance companies — did everything, as a full-service law firm," says Jackson, who inherited McFarland's lobbying clientele when the latter died in 1971.

Jackson also profited from his connection to another prominent Sacramento lobbyist, the late David "Davey" Oliver. Oliver represented the Association of California Insurance Companies, which Jackson served as general counsel and, when Oliver died, as its lobbyist until a falling out over strategy in the 1988 insurance-initiative wars.

Jackson, who has played the law-lobbying game for perhaps more years than anyone, says the explosive growth in the field simply means that other lawyers are learning how to play the game.

"Years and years ago you had lawyers who practiced law and lobbied, starting as I did, sort of by accident," Jackson says. "They were the kind of real lawyer-lobbyists, real lawyers who are also real lobbyists and have been around for years. That's what we do, and Franchetti and Swoap [the lobbying



Foran

firm of former Deukmejian administration officials Michael Franchetti, a lawyer, and David Swoap] strike me as in that mold as well.

"They are not trying to peddle influence," Jackson says of such firms. "They aren't trying to con the client. They just do the work. They're unobtrusive. You don't hear a lot about them, but you see them where it counts."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Knowing "where it counts" is the key to success in the law-lobbying trade. "You take a typical lobbying firm, and you find a guy inside who's a lawyer," says Jackson. "They got their [law] education but perhaps never practiced, although a few were real lawyers. They bring their legal education to the political table. They bring those mental and other skills and add value to the firm."

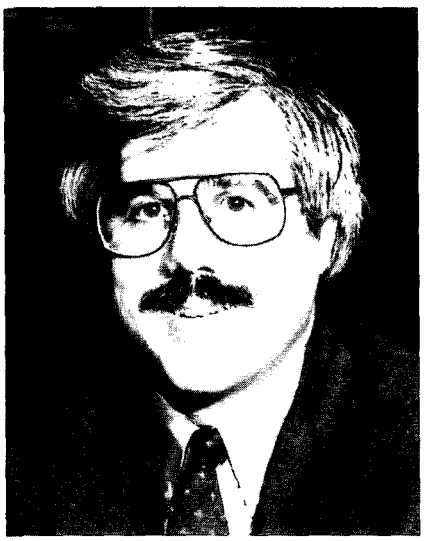
Jackson and others say the law-lobbying combination is relatively new to Sacramento, modeled in part on the success of such firms in Washington D.C. "It actually started about 10 years ago," Jackson says. "A lot of firms came to Sacramento from Los Angeles and San Francisco, but they didn't know what they were doing. All you have to do is walk into the Legislature to know it's not the same as a courthouse. If you come in cold as a stranger and try to do that work, you're going to make a lot of mistakes. And they did."

Like Jackson/Barish, Franchetti and Swoap operate a lobbying firm which is technically separate from a law firm — in Franchetti's case, the San Francisco firm of Franchetti and Franchetti in which he is a partner with his wife, Tiffany. The lobbying firm nearly passed the $1 million mark in 1988, reporting $912,517 in fees from a variety of business, pharmaceutical and governmental entities, including more than $100,000 each from Eli Lilly and Smith Kline and French Laboratories, and $94,927 from Mobil Oil.

Franchetti makes a clear distinction between legal representation and lobbying — a distinction compelled in part by lobbying reporting requirements of the 1974 Political Reform Act administered by the FPPC, which requires individuals to register as lobbyists when a certain amount of time is spent attempting to "influence" state laws or regulations.

For example Franchetti the lobbyist may represent a client in attempting to change a law or regulation in the Legislature or in an administrative agency. If that attempt is unsuccessful, Franchetti the lawyer may represent the same client in filing suit against the agency. He concedes the distinction in sometimes a fine one. "It gets closer and closer in some cases," he says.

A pioneer in the law-lobbying field is the San Francisco-based firm of Nossaman, Guthner, Knox and Elliott, which includes three former legislators — Assembly Speaker pro Tempore John Knox, state Senator John Foran and Assemblyman William Bagley — among its partners. The bipartisan firm (Knox and Foran are Democrats, Bagley a Republican) also employs many other staff with government experience, including Richard Spohn, a lawyer who ran the state Department of Consumer



Merksamer

Affairs under former Democratic Governor Jerry Brown.

Historically, says Knox, "There always have been efforts by lawyers to influence agencies." He describes his firm, which employs 70 lawyers and has offices in Sacramento, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., as "basically a full-service law firm, with the added service of lobbying."

The firm counts among its wide range of clients Aetna Life and Casualty (which paid the firm $70,998 for lobbying in 1988), the Association for California Tort Reform ($63,217), General Electric ($54,397), the National Association of Securities Dealers ($32,250), and Southern California Edison ($43,443).

"We are not a lobbying firm per se," says Bagley, who is not a registered lobbyist (Knox and Foran are). "We have major governmental knowledge and access, but we treat our clients who come into the lobbying arena exactly the same, as if someone came in with a corporate problem or a zoning problem."

Bagley, Franchetti and others say lawyers often become involved in the legislative or agency process without registering as lobbyists when they probably, technically, should.

"There are a helluva lot of lawyers who probably should be registered, in a technical sense," says Bagley, not a great fan of the intricacies of the Political Reform Act. "A lawyer practicing law in Milpitas who has to come to Sacramento probably isn't aware of the ramifications of the FPPC. The act encompasses not just lawyers, but employees of corporations who try to change something for their industry, whether it's the wool growers or the asparagus industry. They're always under the onus of the FPPC and frankly it's absurd."

Franchetti says he probably "over-registers" rather than risk offending a nuance of the complex Political Reform Act. "I think there are a lot of people up here who are doing lobbying who are lawyers," he says. "It's my observation

Advertisement

Political Fund-Raising

A One-Day Seminar Saturday, April 7 at UCLA

Designed for candidates, campaign consultants, elected officials, and staff, this intensive seminar covers:

- getting over the fear of asking
- raising last-minute money
- do's and don'ts of big-giver asking
- direct-mail fund-raising
- partisan/nonpartisan and issues campaigns
- latest campaign finance regulations—Propositions 73 and 68
- long-range plans for the 1991 elections

Instructor: **Jill Barad**, manager of winning campaigns for federal, state, and local office; coordinator of major fund-raising events

For information call UCLA Extension at (213) 825-0641, 8 am-5 pm weekdays.

UCLA EXTENSION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that if they were not lawyers, they would have to register as lobbyists."

A growing national giant in the law-lobbying business is the firm of Heron, Burchette, Ruckert and Rothwell, which represents a wide range of insurance, agricultural and business interests in the Capitol. Nationally, the firm employs more than 200 lawyers in offices as far-flung as Washington D.C., Phoenix, Denver, and even Moscow.

"Basically, we took our Washington model and developed it here," says Jack Gualco, who was a special assistant to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown from 1981 to 1985. A non-lawyer ("We don't have that hangup," Gualco quips), he is one of 10 non-lawyer lobbyists in the Sacramento office, which also employs an equal number of lawyers. In 1988 the firm reported more than $1.1 million in lobbying fees from clients which included the Insurance Agents and Brokers Legislative Council ($217,656), Norcal Mutual Insurance ($85,164), the California Tomato Growers Association ($70,827) and the Imperial Irrigation District ($62,606).

Like Clay Jackson, who is a lawyer, Gualco says legal training does not easily translate into lobbying skill: "People have to recognize that the Legislature is a whole different set of government, an entirely different field of play. So much is done on an informal basis. It's how to work within the system, and some people who are very structured probably won't do well."

The firm provides bipartisan representation, and many staff are former bureaucrats and/or political advisers. In a growing trend for larger, media-conscious law firms, the firm even employs a prominent Sacramento public relations firm — Stoorza, Ziegaus and Metzger (partner Bobbie Metzger was press secretary to former Governor Jerry Brown and, later, to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown) to help with media issues.

While some large firms are opening branches in Sacramento for better access to the Capitol, others have created or expanded a government-law/lobbying component within existing local firms. Kronick, Moskovitz, Tiedemann and Girard, a Sacramento firm which employs 60 lawyers and represents a wide variety of local governmental and business clients, six years ago merged with the lobbying firm of veteran Capital lobbyist Robert G. Walters, who is a lawyer. The firm in 1988 reported $193,224 in lobbying fees.

"The Sacramento firms are realizing that they have the contacts and the knowledge," says Judith Harper, a former lobbyist for the State Bar of California and immediate past president of the Sacramento County Bar Association who was with Kronick, Moskovitz from 1987 to 1989. "Part of being a full-service law firm is offering your clients a full range of services, whether it be advocacy in the Legislature or the courts."

Gene Livingston, a Sacramento lawyer who once headed the state Office of Administrative Law and now runs his own law-lobbying firm — Livingston and Mattesich, with former OAL general counsel Jim Mattesich — says clients and their lawyers are becoming "more sophisticated" about their law-lobbying needs. Livingston, whose firm reported $416,419 in lobbying fees in 1988, says expertise in the intricacies of state administrative agencies is critical for a successful law-lobbying operation.

Often, Livingston adds, the distinction between law and lobbying is unclear. "Sometimes the question is what is lobbying versus what is practicing law? Sometimes it's a little blurred."

Legislators who are lawyers (a once-predominant occupational group in the Legislature) view the trend with mixed feelings. Assembly Judiciary Committee Chairman Phil Isenberg, a Sacramento Democrat, sees a steady growth in "those law firms that service political clients and their political issues," but does not see the growth as explosive, nor alarming. "This is not the equivalent of the Manhattanization of Sacramento," he says.

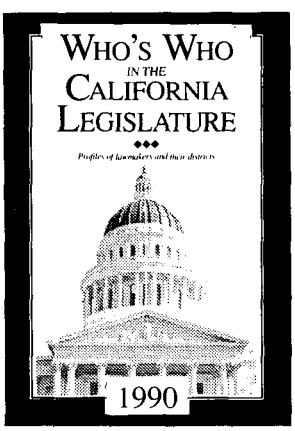
Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly, also a Sacramento Democrat, is less sanguine and believes the growth of law-lobbying in Sacramento raises serious ethical questions for lawyers. His own firm — Olsen, Connelly, Hagel and Fong — is a major political law firm for Democratic office holders and does no lobbying, in part because of Connelly's association (although he is not an active member of the firm).

"I think it's better that they [lawyer-lobbyists] not do campaign law and legislative advocacy," he said. "It raises the risk that the firm is doing legislative advocacy directed at one of their clients. There is something about that that makes me very uncomfortable."

For example, Connelly said, "a law firm provides legal advice to a member of the Legislature on Monday on a point of campaign law and then a member of that firm on Tuesday urges the member to vote for a particular bill.

"Some of this gets very gray."

Advertisement



LegiState Press
1228 N St. #10-J
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 442-1434

Hot off the press. Order now!

WHO'S WHO in the CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

- New in-depth biographies of state legislators and detailed district information in a 6" x 9", 256-page reference.
- Each legislator's photo, background, education, civic activities and legislative interests and accomplishments.
- District maps, key cities and ZIP codes, plus voter registration and election results.
- Special Introductory Price -- $59.95 (plus tax and $2 each shipping and handling).

YES! I need to know about California Legislators. Send me _____ copies of Who's Who in the California Legislature.

☐ Check enclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

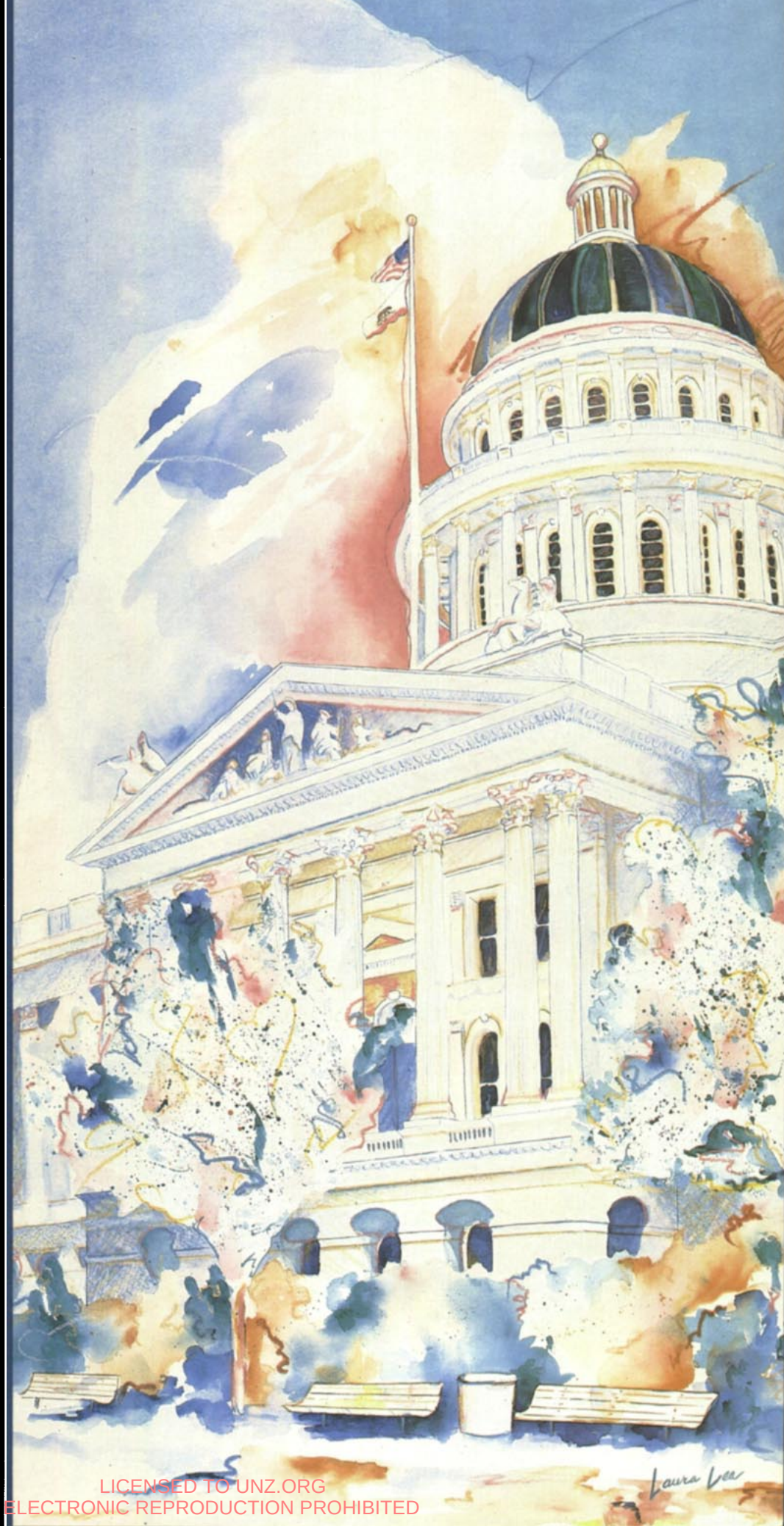
Name _____
Company _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone ( ) _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Journal

1990 ROSTER & GOVERN-MENT GUIDE

Reprints: Additional copies of this Roster are available at the following rates: 100 or more copies, 48 cents each; 50-99 copies, 74 cents each; 3-49 copies, $1.24 each; 1 or 2 copies, $2.25 each. Please add 6.75% sales tax plus $2.50 shipping and handling to all orders.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IS THIS HOW YOUR COMPUTER SYSTEM TIES THE DEPARTMENT TOGETHER?

A computer system is supposed to make people more efficient. Not tie them down.

Which is why we developed the new PRIME EXL™ Series supermicrocomputers—the perfect solutions for managing your departmental computer resources.

The PRIME EXL Series lets your PCs access information from the corporate mainframe. Allows you to communicate with systems in other departments and remote branches. And enables your whole department to share peripherals.

And the PRIME EXL Series is based on industry standards including AT&T's UNIX® V.3 and the Intel386™ technology. The entire family gives you the ability to run DOS,™ PICK,™ and your existing UNIX-based applications so you won't be roped into giving up current software.

The Series also works as a flexible development tool that lets people create their own specific applications.

And you won't get hung up on the price tag. The fact is, the PRIME EXL Series has one of the best price/performance ratios in the industry.

So if your computer system has your department hog-tied, call Prime. For more information and a demonstration (no strings attached), call 1- (916) 381-8681 and ask for Roland Fellows.

After all, how long can you afford to operate with your hands tied behind your back?

Prime®

Prime Computer, Inc.

PRIME and the Prime logo are registered trademarks and Prime EXL is a trademark of Prime Computer, Inc., Natick, MA. UNIX is a registered trademark of AT&T. PICK is a trademark of Pick Systems, Inc. MS-DOS is a trademark of Microsoft Corp. Intel386 is a trademark of Intel Corp.

PRIME COMPUTER, INC., 8801 FOLSOM BLVD., SACRAMENTO, CA 95826

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

George Deukmejian (R)
Elected 1982, 1986
State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2864

107 S. Broadway, #4024
Los Angeles 90012
(213) 736-2373

455 Golden Gate Ave., #2202
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-3326

CABINET

Michael Frost, Chief of Staff, (916) 445-5106
David Caffrey, Cabinet Secretary, (916) 445-8612
Clifford Allenby, Sec'y of Health and Welfare Agency, (916) 445-6951
Shirley Chilton, Sec'y of State and Consumer Services Agency (916) 445-1935
John Geoghegan, Sec'y of Business, Trans. & Housing Agency, (916) 445-1332
Jesse Huff, Director of Finance, (916) 445-4141
Ron Rinaldi, Dir. of Industrial Relations, (916) 324-4163
Joe Sandoval, Sec'y of Youth and Adult Correctional Agency, (916) 323-5565
Jananne Sharpless, Environmental Affairs Advisor, Air Resources Board, (916) 322-5840
Henry Voss, Dir. of Food and Agriculture, (916) 445-7126
Gordon Van Vleck, Sec'y of Resources Agency, (916) 445-5656

STAFF

(All telephone numbers 916 area code)

Michael Frost, Chief of Staff, 445-5106
Richard Davis, Special Asst. to Chief of Staff, 324-7988
Allen Zaremberg, Legislative Secretary, 445-4341
Huston Carlyle Jr., Legal Affairs Secretary, 445-0873
Lorrie Barbian, Assistant to the Governor, 445-2843
Greg Kahwajian, Assistant to Governor, 324-3622
Susan Pederson, Scheduling Secretary, 445-6533
Terrance Flanigan, Appointments Secretary, 445-1915
James Robinson, Dir. of Public Affairs and Communications, 445-1682
Robert Gore, Press Secretary, 445-4571
Margaret Bengs, Special Asst. for Constituent Affairs, 445-6343
Peter Mehas, Education Advisor, 323-0611
Robert Martinez, Dir. of Local Government Affairs, 445-0282
John McCarthy, Community Relations, 445-1114
Cheryl Goble, Correspondence Supervisor, 445-1455

SPECIAL OFFICES

Department of Finance
Jesse Huff, Director
1145 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3878

Office of Criminal Justice Planning
G. Albert Howenstein, Jr., Exec. Director
1130 K Street, #300
Sacramento 95814
(916) 324-9140

Office of Emergency Services
William Medigovich, Director
2800 Meadowview Road
Sacramento 95832
(916) 427-4201

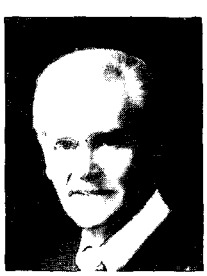
Office of Planning and Research
Robert Martinez, Director
1400 10th Street, #156
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0282

Department Of Economic Opportunity
Theresa Alvillar-Speake, Director
1600 9th Street, #340
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0475

Office of Protocol
Don Mulford, Chief of Protocol
6582 Lucas Avenue, #4
Oakland 94611
(415) 339-3777

Washington D.C. Office
Robert Moore, Director
444 N. Capitol N.W., #305
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 347-6894

California Supreme Court



Malcolm Lucas, Chief Justice
350 McAllister St., #4250
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0587

Stanley Mosk, Associate Justice
350 McAllister St., #4250
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0587

Allen Broussard, Associate Justice
350 McAllister St., #4250
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0587

Edward Panelli, Associate Justice
350 McAllister St., #4250
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0587

David Eagleson, Associate Justice
350 McAllister St., #4250
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0587

Joyce Kennard, Associate Justice
350 McAllister St., #4250
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0587

Vacancy as of 2/1/90, associate justice

Lieutenant Governor

Leo McCarthy (D)
Elected 1982, 1986
Chief of Staff: Kim Cranston
1114 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-8994
711 Van Ness Ave., #305
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-2662

Treasurer

Thomas Hayes (R)
Appointed 1989
Chief Deputy: B.T. Collins
915 Capitol Mall, #110
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5316
9800 S. Sepulveda, #820
Los Angeles 90045
(213) 620-4467

Superintendent of Public Instruction

(non-partisan office)
Bill Honig (D)
Elected 1982, 1986
Executive Deputy: Dave Dawson
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4688

Secretary of State

March Fong Eu (D)
Elected, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1986
Chief Deputy: Anthony Miller
1230 J Street, #209
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6371
107 S. Broadway, #4001
Los Angeles 90012
(213) 620-3104

Controller

Gray Davis (D)
Elected 1986
Chief Deputy: Jim Tucker
300 Capitol Mall, 18th Floor
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2636
6300 Wilshire Blvd., #1270
Los Angeles 90048
(213) 852-5213

Attorney General

John Van de Kamp (D)
Elected 1982, 1986
Chief Deputy: Nelson Kempsky
1515 K Street, #511
Sacramento 94244
(916) 445-9555
3580 Wilshire Blvd., #800
Los Angeles 90010
(213) 736-2304

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATE DEPARTMENTS

Business, Transportation and Housing Agency

John K. Geoghegan, Agency Secretary
1120 N Street #2101
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1332

Department Of Alcoholic Beverage Control
Jay Stroh, Director
1901 Broadway
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3221

Department Of Commerce
Kenneth L. Gibson, Director
1121 L Street, Suite 600
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3962

Department Of Corporations
Christine Bender, Commissioner
3700 Wilshire Bl, 6th Fl.
Los Angeles 90010
(213) 736-3481

Department Of Housing and Community Development
Maureen Higgins, Director
1800 3rd Street
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4775

Department Of Savings And Loans
William J. Crawford, Commissioner
3460 Wilshire Boulevard, #300
Los Angeles 90010-2200
(213) 736-2791

Department Of State Banking
James Gilleran, Superintendent
111 Pine Street, #1100
San Francisco 94111
(415) 557-3535

Department Of Transportation
Robert K. Best, Director
1120 N Street, #1100
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2201

Department Of Insurance
Roxani M. Gillespie, Commissioner
100 Van Ness, 16th Floor
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-9642

Department Of Motor Vehicles
A.A. Pierce, Director
2415 First Avenue
Sacramento 95818
(916) 732-0250

Department Of Real Estate
James A. Edmonds Jr., Commissioner
2201 Broadway
Sacramento 95818
(916) 739-3600

Department Of Highway Patrol
M.J. Hannigan, Commissioner
2555 1st Avenue
Box 942898
Sacramento 94298-0001
(916) 445-7473

Housing Finance Agency
Karney Hodge, Director
1121 L Street, 7th Floor
Sacramento 95814
(916) 324-4638

Stephen P. Teale Data Center
D.J. Wilson, Acting Director
P.O. Box 13436
Sacramento 95813-4436
(916) 445-2910

Office Of Traffic Safety
P.K. O'Rourke, Director
7000 Franklin Blvd., #330
Sacramento 95823
(916) 445-0527

Health and Welfare Agency

Clifford L. Allenby, Agency Secretary
1600 9th Street #450
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6951

Department Of Aging
Alice Gonzales, Director
1600 K Street
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5290

Department Of Alcohol And Drug Programs
Chauncey L. Veatch III, Director
111 Capitol Mall, #450
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1943

Department Of Developmental Services
Gary D. Macomber, Director
1600 9th Street, #240
Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-3131

Department Of Health Services
Dr. Kenneth W. Kizer, Director
714 P Street, #1253
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1248

Department Of Mental Health
Douglas Arnold, Acting Director
1600 9th Street, #151
Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-8173

Department Of Rehabilitation
P. Cecie Fontanoza, Director
830 K Street
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3971

Department Of Social Services
Linda S. McMahon, Director
744 P Street, #1740
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2077

Employment Development Department
Kaye R. Kiddoo, Director
800 Capitol Mall
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9212

Emergency Medical Services Authority
Bruce Haynes, Director
1030 15th St., #302
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-4336

Office Of Statewide Health Planning and Development
Larry G. Meeks, Director
1600 9th Street #433
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5834

Emergency Medical Services Authority
Bruce Haynes, Director
1030 15th Street #302
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-4336

Health and Welfare Data Center
Russell J. Bohart, Director
1651 Alhambra Blvd.
Sacramento 95816
(916) 739-7700

Youth and Adult Correctional Agency

Joe Sandoval, Agency Secretary
1100 11th Street, #400
Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-6001

Department Of Corrections
James Rowland, Director
1515 S Sreet
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-7688

Youth Authority
C.A. Terhune, Director
4241 Williamsbourgh Drive
Sacramento 95823
(916) 427-4816

Board Of Prison Terms
Ronald Koenig, Chairman
545 Downtown Plaza, #200
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-6366

Youthful Offender Parole Board
Robert B. Murphy, Chairman
4241 Williamsbourgh Drive
Sacramento 95823
(916) 427-4873

Prison Industry Authority
W.J. Estelle Jr., General Manager
560 E. Natomas Street
Folsom 95630
(916) 324-1991

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Resources Agency

Gordon Van Vleck, Agency Secretary
1416 9th Street #1311
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5656

Coastal Commission
Michael Wornum, Chairman
600 Harrison
San Francisco 94105
(415) 543-8555

Colorado River Board
Executive Director, vacant
107 S Broadway, #8103
Los Angeles 90012
(213) 620-4480

Conservation Corps
Bud Sheble, Director
1530 Capitol Avenue
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0307

Coastal Conservancy
Peter Grenell, Executive Officer
1330 Broadway, #1100
Oakland 94612
(415) 464-1015

Department Of Conservation
Randall M. Ward, Director
1416 9th Street, #1320
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-1080

Department Of Fish And Game
Peter Bontadelli, Director
1416 9th Street, 12th Floor
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9880

Department of Boating And Waterways
William H. Ivers, Director
1629 S Street
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6281

Department Of Forestry And Fire Protection
Robert E. Paulus, Acting Director
1416 9th Street #1505
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3976

Department Of Parks And Recreation
Henry R. Agonia, Director
1416 9th Street #1405
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2358

Department Of Water Resources
David N. Kennedy, Director
1416 9th Street, #1115-1
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6582

San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission
Robert R. Tufts, Chairman
30 Van Ness Avenue, #2011
San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-3686

Mining And Geology Board
James Anderson, Chairman
1416 9th St., #1326-A
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-1082

California Tahoe Conservancy
Dennes Machida, Executive Officer
2161 Lake Tahoe Blvd.
South Lake Tahow 95731
(916) 542-2940

Board Of Forestry
Dean Cromwell, Executive Officer
1416 9th St., #1506
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2753

State and Consumer Services Agency

Shirley Chilton, Agency Secretary
915 Capitol Mall, #200
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1935

Building Standards Commission
Shirley Chilton, Chairwoman
428 J Street, #450
Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-6363

Franchise Tax Board
Gerald H. Goldberg, Executive Officer
P.O. Box 1468
Sacramento 95812
(916) 369-4543

Public Employees Retirement System
Bill D. Ellis, Board President
400 P Street
Sacramento 95814
(916) 326-3689

Department Of Consumer Affairs
Michael Kelley, Director
1020 N Street, 5th Floor
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4465

Department Of General Services
W.J. Anthony, Director
915 Capitol Mall, #590
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3441

Department Of Veterans Affairs
Jesse G. Ugalde, Director
1227 O Street
P.O. Box 942895
Sacramento 94295
(916) 445-3111

State Personnel Board
Gloria Harmon, Executive Officer
801 Capitol Mall #570
Sacramento 94244-2010
(916) 445-8694

State Teachers Retirement System
James Mosman, Chief Executive Officer
7667 Folsom Blvd.
Sacramento 95826
(916) 386-3700

Department Of Fair Employment And Housing
Dorinda Henderson, Director
2014 T Street, #210
Sacramento 95814
(916) 739-4616

State Fire Marshal
James F. McMullen, Fire Marshal
7171 Bowling Drive, #600
Sacramento 95823
(916) 427-4176

Museum Of Science And Industry
Jeffrey N. Rudolph, Executive Director
700 State Drive Exposition Parkway
Los Angeles 90037
(213) 744-7484

Environmental Affairs Secretary

Jananne Sharpless
1102 Q Street
PO Box 2815
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5840

Air Resources Board
Jananne Sharpless, Chairwoman
1102 Q Street
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5840

Waste Management Board
John Gallagher, Chairman
1020 9th Street, #300
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3330

Water Resources Control Board
W. Don Maughan, Chairman
901 P Street, 4th Floor
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3993

A Few Good Words Can Work Wonders. And Save Some.

Resource Conservation Programs
Association Public Awareness Campaigns
Media Relations
Corporate Community Relations
Direct Mail
Writing

THE LOCK AGENCY, INC.

3009 F STREET
SACRAMENTO, CA 95816
916.442.4684

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOARDS, COMMISSIONS AND DEPARTMENTS

Board of Accountancy
Della Bosquet, Executive Officer
2135 Butano Drive, #112
Sacramento 95825 (916) 920-6715

Office of Administrative Law
Linda Brewer, Director
555 Capitol Mall, Suite 1290
Sacramento 95814 (916) 323-6224

Commission on Aging
Larry Lutz, Chairman
1020 9th Street, #260
Sacramento 958141 (916) 322-5630

Agricultural Labor Relations Board
Greg Gonot, Acting Chairman
915 Capitol Mall, 3rd Floor
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-7017

Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board
Warren M. Dorn, Chairman
1001 6th Street, #401
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-4005

Allocation Board
Jesse Huff, Chairman
501 J Street, #350
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-3377

Board of Architectural Examiners
Stephen Sands, Executive Officer
1021 O Street, #A-102
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-3393

Arts Council
Joanne Kozberg, Chairwoman
Robert Reid, Director
1901 Broadway, Suite A
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-8911

Athletic Commission
Ken Gray, Executive Officer
1424 Howe Avenue, #33
Sacramento 95825 (916) 920-7300

Automotive Repair, Bureau of
Alden Oberjuerge, Chairman
10240 Systems Parkway
Sacramento 95827 (916) 366-5100

Behavioral Science Examiners, Board of
William Thompson, Chairman
1021 O Street, #A-198
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-4933

California Exposition and State Fair Board
Ralph Scurfield, Chairman
1600 Exposition Blvd
Sacramento 95815 (916) 924-2061

California Film Commission
Lisa Rawlins, Director
6922 Hollywood Blvd., #600
Hollywood 90028 (213) 736-2465

California State University
Ann Reynolds, Chancellor
400 Golden Shore, #324
Long Beach 90802 (213) 590-5501

Chiropractic Examiners, Board of
B. Jackie Bartels, Chairwoman
921 11th Street, #601
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-3244

Community Colleges, Chancellor's Office
David Mertes, Chancellor
1107 9th Street, 6th Floor
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-4005

Contractor's State Licensing Board
Joseph Valverde, Chairman
9835 Goethe Road
Sacramento 95827 (916) 366-5153

State Board of Control
W.J. Anthony, Chairman
630 K Street
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-1540

Board of Dental Examiners
Jean Savage, President
1432 Howe Avenue, #85-B
Sacramento 95825 (916) 920-7197

Economic Development, Commission for
Leo McCarthy, Chairman
5777 W. Century Blvd., Ste. 1650
Los Angeles 90045 (213) 412-6118

State Board of Education
Francis Laufenberg, President
721 Capitol Mall, #532
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-9016

Energy Commission
Charles Imbrecht, Chairman
1516 9th Street
Sacramento 95814 (916) 324-3326

Fair Political Practices Commission
John H. Larson, Chairman
428 J Street, #800
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-5901

Fish and Game Commission
Robert Bryant, Chairman
1416 9th Street, #1207-5
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-5708

Food and Agriculture, Department of
Henry Voss, Director
1220 N St., Rm. 409
Sacramento 95825 (916) 445-7126

Horse Racing Board
Leslie Liscom, Chairman
1010 Hurley Way, #190
Sacramento 95825 (916) 920-7178

Department of Industrial Relations
Ron Rinaldi, Director
1121 L Street, #307
Sacramento 95814
(916) 324-4163

Industrial Welfare Commission
Lynnel Pollock, Chair
30 Van Ness, 4th Floor
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-2590

Judicial Council of California
Malcolm Lucas, Chairman
William Davis, Executive Director
595 Market St., 30th Floor
San Francisco 94105 (415) 396-9100

Judicial Performance, Commission of
Arleigh Woods, Chairman
Jack Frankel, Director
Fox Plaza, #304, 1390 Market St.
San Francisco (415) 557-2503

Law Revision Commission
Edwin K. Marzec, Chairman
4000 Middlefield Road, #D-2
Palo Alto 94303 (415) 494-1335

Lottery Commission
Dennis Malody, Chairman
600 N. 10th Street
Sacramento 95814 (916) 323-0400

Medical Assistance Commission
Robert W. Walker, Chairman
1121 L Street, #300
Sacramento 95814 (916) 324-2726

Board of Medical Quality Assurance
Dr. J. Alfred Rider, President
1430 Howe Avenue
Sacramento 95825 (916) 920-6343

Military Department
Robert Thrasher, Adjutant General
P.O. Box 214405
Sacramento 95821 (916) 973-3500

Native American Heritage Commission
William Mungary, Chairman
915 Capitol Mall, #288
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-7791

Optometry, Board of
Julia Preisig, President
1920 20th Street, #B
Sacramento 95814 (916) 739-4131

Osteopathic Examiners, Board of
Dr. Bryn J. Henderson, President
921 11th Street, #1201
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-4306

Park and Recreation Commission
Manuel Mollinedo, Chairman
1416 9th Street, #1405
Sacramento 95814 (916) 324-6976

Department of Personnel Administration
David Tirapelle, Director
1515 S Street
Sacramento 94244 (916) 322-5193

Department of Personnel Administration
David Tirapelle, Director
1515 S Street
Sacramento 94244 (916) 322-5193

Pharmacy, Board of
Glenn Yokoyama, President
1020 N Street, #448
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-5014

Postsecondary Education Commission
Sharon N. Skog, Chairwoman
1020 12th Street, 3rd Floor
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-7933

Public Defender
Fern Laethem, Public Defender
1107 9th St., #650
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-7520

Public Employment Relations Board
Deborah M. Hesse, Chairwoman
1031 18th Street
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-3088

Public Utilities Commission
G. Mitchell Wilk, President
505 Van Ness
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-2444

Reclamation Board
Wallace McCormack, President
1416 9th Street, #455-6
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-9454

Registered Nursing, Board of
Joyce Boone, Acting President
1030 13th Street, #200
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-3350

Seismic Safety Commission
Lloyd S. Cluff, Chairman
1900 K Street, #100
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-4917

State Finance, Commission on
Thomas Hayes, Chairman
Gail Greer Lyle, Executive Sec'y
915 Capitol Mall, Rm. 435
Sacramento 95814 (916) 323-5202

Commission on State Government Organization and Economy (Little Hoover Commission)
Nathan Shapell, Chairman
1303 J Street, #270
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-2125

State Lands Commission
Claire T. Dedrick, Executive Director
1807 13th Street
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-4105

Status of Women, Commission on the
Pat Towner, Executive Director
1303 J Street, #400
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-3173

Student Aid Commission
Robert Bess, Chairman
1515 S Street, #500
Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-1904

Teacher Credentialing, Commission on
Mary Jane Pearson, Chairwoman
1812 9th Street
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-0184

Transportation Commission
Joseph Duffel, Chairman
1120 N Street, #2221
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-1690

Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board
Robert Harvey, Chairman
714 P Street, #1750
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-5678

University of California
David Gardner, President
Roy Brophy, Chairman, Board of Regents
300 Lakeside Drive
Oakland 94612 (415) 987-0700

Water Commission
Stanley Barnes, Chairman
1416 9th Street, #1104-4
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-8750

Wildlife Conservation Board
Robert Bryant, Chairman
1416 9th Street, #1335
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-8448

Workers' Compensation Appeals Board
Jane O'Neill, Acting Chairwoman
455 Golden Gate Avenue, #2154
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-3229

Fair Employment and Housing Commission
Osias G. Goren, Chairman
1390 Market Street, #410
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-1180

World Trade Commission
Robert T. Monagan, Chairman
Gregory Mignano, Executive Director
1121 L Street, #310
Sacramento 95814 (916) 324-5511

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

1020 N Street, Box 942879 Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-6464

District 1
William Bennett (D)
Elected 1970, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1986
1020 N Street
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4081

District 3
Ernest J. Dronenburg Jr. (R)
Elected 1978, 1982, 1986
110 West C Street, #1709
San Diego 92101
(619) 237-7844

Ex Officio Member
Gray Davis (D)
Elected 1986
300 Capitol Mall, 18th Floor
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2636

District 2
Conway H. Collis (D)
Elected 1986
901 Wilshire Blvd., #210
Santa Monica 90401
(213) 451-5777

District 4
Paul Carpenter (D)
Elected 1986
4040 Paramount Blvd., #103
Lakewood 90712
(213) 429-5422

Advertisement

Industry
Leader in
Legislative
Regulatory
Reporting

STATE NET®
916/444-0840

More than on-line* bill tracking!

New features:

Word-searchable text of:

- ★Press releases of state offices and officials
- ★Initiatives
- ★*California Journal* and other publications
- ★Lobbyist, PAC, state and federal directories

To arrange an on-line demonstration or for more information about our online service, printed reports or bill copy service, call now:

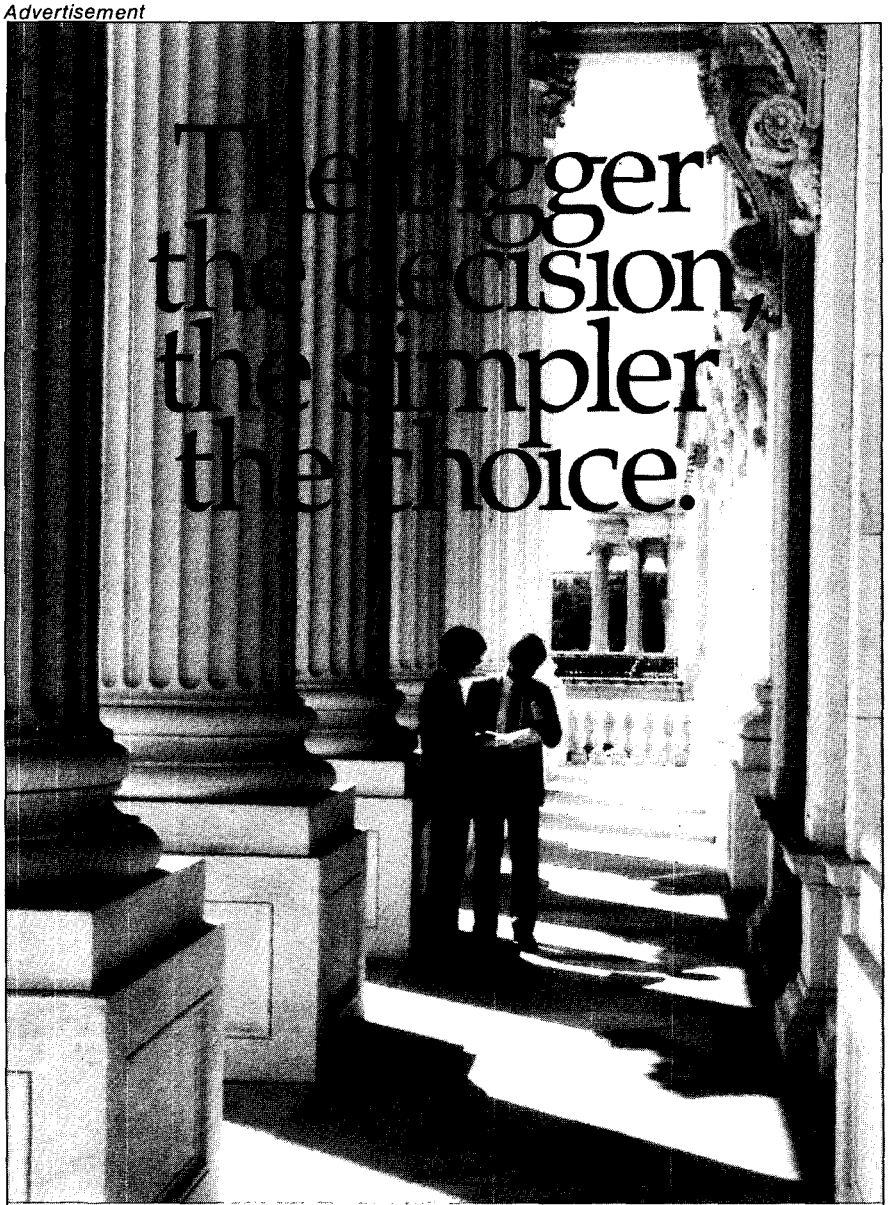
STATE NET
1900 - 14th Street
Sacramento, CA 95814
916-444-0840

* Still the only service to have toll-free and 2400 baud on-line access.

Left to right:
Art Zimmerman,
Diana Rains,
Jud Clark,
Bill Hauck,
Rick Brandsma

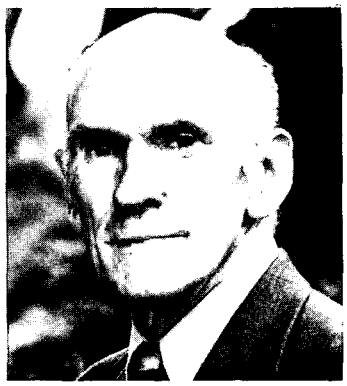
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement


Legi-Tech keeps you informed on the activities of the Legislature. And in California, no one does it as well as we do.
The only way to appreciate the convenience, timeliness and accuracy that Legi-Tech can provide is to watch the system at work.
For a free demonstration call or write:
Legi-Tech
1029 J Street, Suite 450 • Sacramento, CA 95814 • (916) 447-1886
"Legi-Tech brings the Legislature to your desk."

CALIFORNIA'S CONGRE

Senators



Cranston, Alan (D)
112 Hart Senate (202) 224-3553
D.C. staff: Roy Greenaway

1390 Market St., #918
San Francisco 94102 (415) 556-8440
State Director: Jadine Nielsen

5757 W. Century Blvd., #620
Los Angeles 90045 (213) 215-2186
Field Rep: Greg Moore

880 Front Street., #531
San Diego 92188 (619) 557-5014
Field Rep: vacancy

Wilson, Pete (R)
720 Hart Senate (202) 224-3841
D.C. staff: Bob White

11111 Santa Monica Blvd., #915
Los Angeles 90025 (213) 209-6765
State Director: Mike Wooten

Ferry Bldg., #2040 Embarcadero
San Francisco 94111 (415) 556-4307
District Dir: Sally Rakow

1130 O St., Room 4015
Federal Building
Fresno 93721 (209) 487-5727
District Dir: Craig Schmidt

401 B Street, #2209
San Diego 92101 (619) 557-5257
District Dir: Kathy Holladay

4590 MacArthur Blvd., #220
Newport Beach 92660 (714) 756-8820
District Dir: Joe Dempsey

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AL DELEGATION

Representatives

Anderson, Glenn (D-32)
2329 Rayburn (202) 225-6676
D.C. staff: Jeremiah Brosnaham
300 Long Beach Blvd., P.O. Box 2349
Long Beach 90801 (213) 437-7665
Exec. Asst: Ann Ramirez

Bates, Jim (D-44)
224 Cannon (202) 225-5452
D.C. staff: Richard Meyers
3450 College Ave., #220
San Diego 92115 (619) 287-8851
Chief of Staff: Jim Bartell

Beilenson, Anthony (D-23)
1025 Longworth (202) 225-5911
D.C. staff: Jan Faulstich
11000 Wilshire Blvd., #14223
Los Angeles 90024 (213) 209-7801
Leg. Asst: Stephen Houston Smith

Berman, Howard (D-26)
137 Cannon 202) 225-4695
D.C. staff: Gene Smith
14600 Roscoe Blvd., #506
Panorama City 91402 (818) 891-0543
AA: Marc Litchman

Bosco, Douglas (D-1)
225 Cannon (202) 225-3311
D.C. staff: Mitch Stagner
777 Sonoma Ave., #329
Santa Rosa 95404 707) 576-1466
Dist. AA: Nicholas Tibbetts

Boxer, Barbara (D-6)
307 Cannon (202) 225-5161
D.C. staff: Drew Littman
3301 Kerner Blvd., #390
San Rafael 94901 415) 457-7272
Dist. Dir: Jackie de Nevers

Brown, George Jr. (D-36)
2188 Rayburn 202) 225-6161
D.C. staff: Pete Didisheim
657 N. La Cadena Drive
Colton 92324 (714) 825-2472
Dist. AA: Wilmer Carter

Campbell, Tom (R-12)
516 Cannon (202) 225-5411
D.C. staff: Karen Miranda
599 N. Matilda Ave., #105
Sunnyvale 94086 (408) 245-4835
Dist. Mgr: Jim Cunneen

Condit, Gary (D-15)
1729 Longworth (202) 225-6131
D.C. staff: Mike Lynch
900 H Street, #B
Modesto 95354 (209) 527-1914
Off. Dir: Mark Garrett

Cox, Christopher (R-40)
510 Cannon (202) 225-5611
D.C. staff: Robert Sutcliffe
4000 MacArthur Blvd. East 430
Newport Beach 92660 (714) 756-2244
Dist. Rep: Jim Fournier

Dannemeyer, William (R-39)
2351 Rayburn (202) 225-4111
D.C. staff: Linda Gieck
1235 N. Harbor Blvd., #100
Fullerton 92632 (714) 992-0141
AA: Wendy Lee

Dellums, Ronald (D-8)
2136 Rayburn (202) 225-2661
D.C. staff: Carlottia Scott
201 13th Street, #105
Oakland 94617 (415) 763-0370
Dist. Rep: Donald Hopkins

Dixon, Julian (D-28)
2400 Rayburn (202) 225-7084
D.C. staff: Andrea Holmes
5100 W. Gold Lease Cir., #208
Inglewood 90056 (213) 678-5424
AA: Patricia Miller

Dornan, Robert (R-38)
301 Cannon (202) 225-2965
D.C. staff: Paul Morrell
12387 Lewis St., #203
Garden Grove 92640 (714) 971-9292
Dist. Admn: Patricia Fanelli

Dreier, David (R-33)
411 Cannon (202) 225-2305
D.C. staff: Brad Smith
112 North 2nd Ave.
Covina 91723 (818) 339-9078
Field Rep: Mark Harmsen

Dymally, Mervyn (D-31)
1717 Longworth (202) 225-5425
D.C. staff: Victor Frazer
306 West Compton Blvd., #200
Compton 90220 (213) 632-4318
Chief of Staff: Ken Orduna

Edwards, Don (D-10)
2307 Rayburn (202) 225-3072
D.C. staff: Roberta Haeberle
1042 W. Hedding, #100
San Jose 95126 (408) 247-1711
Dist. Rep: Terry Poche

Fazio, Vic (D-4)
2113 Rayburn (202) 225-5716
D.C. staff: Sandi Stuart
2525 Natomas Park Dr., #330
Sacramento 95841 (916) 978-4381
Dist. Dir: Richard Harris

Gallegly, Elton (R-21)
107 Cannon (202) 225-5811
D.C. staff: Lisa Boepple
9301 Oakdale Ave., #110
Chatsworth 91311 (818) 341-2121
Dist. Mgr: Paula Scheil

Hawkins, Augustus (D-29)
2371 Rayburn (202) 225-2201
D.C. staff: Mark Molli
4509 South Broadway
Los Angeles 90037 (213) 233-0733
Spec. Asst: Pat Duldulao

Herger, Wally (R-2)
1108 Longworth (202) 225-3076
D.C. staff: John Magill
20 Declaration Dr., #B
Chico 95926 (916) 893-8363
Dist. Rep: Fran Peace

Hunter, Duncan (R-45)
133 Cannon (202) 225-5672
D.C. staff: John Palafoutas
366 South Pierce St.
El Cajon 92020 (800) 367-4545
Dist. Admn: Frank Collins

Lagomarsino, Robert (R-19)
2332 Rayburn (202) 225-3601
D.C. staff: Susan Gerrick
5740 Ralston St., #101
Ventura 93003 (805) 642-2200
Dist. Mgr: Ken Carter

Lantos, Tom (D-11)
1526 Longworth (202) 225-3531
D.C. staff: Robert King
400 El Camino Real, #820
San Mateo 94402 (415) 342-0300
Dist. Rep: Evelyn Szelenyi

Lehman, Richard (D-18)
1319 Longworth (202) 225-4540
D.C. staff: Scott Nishioki
2115 Kern St., #210
Fresno 93721 (209) 487-5760
Dist. Admn: David Brodie

Levine, Mel (D-27)
132 Cannon (202) 225-6451
D.C. staff: Bill Andresen
5250 West Century Blvd., #447
Los Angeles 90045 (213) 410-9415
AA: Christina Lopez

Lewis, Jerry (R-35)
2312 Rayburn (202) 225-5861
D.C. staff: Arlene Willis
1826 Orange Tree Lane, #104
Redlands 92374 (714) 792-5901
AA: Pat Cinque

Lowery, Bill (R-41)
2433 Rayburn (202) 225-3201
D.C. staff: Ben Haddad
880 Front St., 6-S-15
San Diego 92188 (619) 231-0957
Dist. Admn: Karl Higgins

Martinez, Matthew (D-30)
240 Cannon (202) 225-5464
D.C. staff: Maxine Grant
400 N. Montebello Blvd., #100
Montebello 90640 (213) 722-7731
Dist. Dir: Richard Gonzales

Matsui, Robert (D-3)
2419 Rayburn (202) 225-7163
D.C. staff: Neil Dhillon
650 Capitol Mall, #8058
Sacramento 95814 (916) 551-2846
AA: Cyndi Kettman

McCandless, Al (R-37)
435 Cannon (202) 225-5330
D.C. staff: Sidney Ellerton
6529 Riverside Ave., #165
Riverside 92506 (714) 682-7127
Dist. Rep: Norma Pepiot

Miller, George (D-7)
2228 Rayburn (202) 225-2095
D.C. staff: John Lawrence
367 Civic Dr., #14
Pleasant Hill 94523 (415) 687-3260
Dist. Dir: Mary Lansing

Mineta, Norman (D-13)
2350 Rayburn (202) 225-2631
D.C. staff: Tim Newell
1245 S. Winchester Blvd., #310
San Jose 95128 (408) 984-6045
AA: John Flaherty

Moorhead, Carlos (R-22)
2346 Rayburn (202) 225-4176
D.C. staff: Alice Andersen
420 North Brand Blvd., #304
Glendale 91203 (818) 247-8445
Exec. Asst: Robert Cochran

Packard, Ron (R-43)
434 Cannon (202) 225-3906
D.C. staff: Nancy Mason
2121 Palomar Airport Rd., #105
Carlsbad 92009 (619) 438-0443
Dist. Rep: John Weil

Panetta, Leon (D-16)
339 Cannon (202) 225-2861
D.C. staff: Diana Morino
380 Alvarado
Monterey 93940 (408) 649-3555
Admn: Sylvia Panetta

Pashayan, Charles (R-17)
203 Cannon (202) 225-3341
D.C. staff: Chris Cobb
1702 East Bullard, #103
Fresno 93710 (209) 487-5500
Off. Mgr: Arlene Beazley

Pelosi, Nancy (D-5)
1005 Longworth (202) 225-4965
D.C. staff: Judy Lemons
450 Golden Gate Ave., #13470
San Francisco 94102 (415) 556-4862
Dist. Rep: Michael Yaki

Rohrabacher, Dana (R-42)
1017 Longworth (202) 225-2415
D.C. staff: Gary Curran
4332 Cerritos Ave. #100
Los Alamitos 90720 (213) 430-3960
Dist. Dir: Kathleen Hollingsworth

Roybal, Edward (D-25)
2211 Rayburn (202) 225-6235
D.C. staff: Jorge Lambrinos
300 North Los Angeles St., #7106
Los Angeles 90012 (213) 894-4870
AA: Henry Lozano

Shumway, Norm (R-14)
1203 Longworth (202) 225-2511
D.C. staff: Chris Seeger
1150 West Robinhood, #1-A
Stockton 95207 (209) 957-7773
Dist. Rep: Jack Sieglock

Stark, Pete (D-9)
1125 Longworth (202) 225-5065
D.C. staff: Bill Vaughan
22300 Foothill Blvd., #1029
Hayward 94541 (415) 635-1092
Dist. Rep: Debbie Lyons

Thomas, William (R-20)
2402 Rayburn (202) 225-2915
D.C. staff: Bob Winters
4100 Truxtun Ave., #220
Bakersfield 93309 (805) 327-3611
AA: Cathy Abernathy

Torres, Esteban (D-34)
1740 Longworth (202) 225-5256
D.C. staff: Robert Alcock
8819 Whittier Blvd., #101
Pico Rivera 90660 (213) 695-0702
Dist. Dir: Lupe De La Cruz

Waxman, Henry (D-24)
2418 Rayburn (202) 225-3976
D.C. staff: Phillip Schiliro
8425 West 3rd St.
Los Angeles 90048 (213) 651-1040
Dist. Rep.: Howard Elinson

When writing to members of Congress, use the following mailing addresses. The telephone numbers are for Capitol information.

**US House of Representatives,
Washington DC 20515,
(202) 224-3121**

**US Senate,
Washington DC 20510
(202) 224-3121**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA STATE ASSEMBLY

(The capital mailing address for all members of the Assembly is: Sacramento CA 95814.)

Willie Brown Jr.

Speaker: Willie Brown Jr. (D)
Speaker pro Tempore: Michael Roos (D)
Assistant Speaker pro Tempore: Jack O'Connell (D)
Majority Floor Leader: Thomas Hannigan (D)
Minority Floor Leader: Ross Johnson (R)
Majority Whip: Gwen Moore (D)
Minority Whip: Eric Seastrand (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairwoman: Maxine Waters
Republican Caucus Chairman: Robert Frazee

Ross Johnson

* The 27th District is vacant due to the election of Democrat Gary Condit to Congress. A special election to fill Condit's seat is scheduled for January 30th.
** The 78th District is vacant due to the election of Democrat Lucy Killea to the state Senate. A special primary election to fill Killea's seat is scheduled for April 10, 1990 with a runoff on June 10th, if necessary.

Allen, Doris (R-71)
4153 State Capitol (916) 445-6233
Leg. Asst: Carrie Harper
5252 Orange Ave., #100
Cypress 90630 (714) 821-1500
Leg. Asst: Anthony Nelson

Areias, Rusty (D-25)
5144 State Capitol (916) 445-7380
Leg. Asst: Kevin Haughian
545 J Street, #14
Los Banos 93635 (209) 826-6100
Field Rep: Scott Rose

Bader, Charles (R-65)
3147 State Capitol (916) 445-8490
Leg. Asst: Cheryl Kettlewell
203 West G Street
Ontario 91762 (714) 983-6011
Prin. Asst: James Brulte

Baker, William (R-15)
3013 State Capitol (916) 445-8528
Leg. Aide: N. Ann Jordan
1801 N. California, #103
Walnut Creek 94596 (415) 932-2537
AA: Marjorie Meredith

Bane, Tom (D-40)
3152 State Capitol (916) 445-3134
Consultant: Sue Charles
5430 Van Nuys Blvd., #206
Van Nuys 91401 (818) 986-8090
AA: Susan Rubin

Bates, Tom (D-12)
446 State Capitol (916) 445-7554
AA: Amy Strassburg
1414 Walnut Street
Berkeley 94709 (415) 540-3176
Leg. Aide: Judith DeVries

Bentley, Carol (R-77)
5126 State Capitol (916) 445-6161
AA: Elizabeth Dahl
2755 Navajo Road
El Cajon 92020 (619) 464-7204
Field Rep: Carmen Lynn Irene

Bronzan, Bruce (D-31)
448 State Capitol (916) 445-8514
Chief of Staff: Hilary Ross
2115 Kern, #250
Fresno 93721 (209) 445-5532
Field Rep: Monica Blanco

Brown, Dennis (R-58)
4162 State Capitol (916) 445-8492
Sr. Asst: Bill Bailey
1945 Palo Verde Ave., #203
Long Beach 90815 (213) 493-5514
Field Rep: Alan Tello

Brown, Willie Jr. (D-17)
219 State Capitol (916) 445-8077
Chief of Staff: Michael Galizio
350 McAllister, #5046
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-0784
Chief of Staff: Victoria Jee

Burton, John (D-16)
2179 State Capitol (916) 445-8253
Sr. Asst: Cathy Gardella
350 McAllister, #1064
San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-2253
Field Rep: Ron Colthirst

Calderon, Charles (D-59)
6011 State Capitol (916) 445-0854
Prin. Asst: Michael Burns
1712 W Beverly Blvd. #201
Montebello 90640 (213) 721-2904
AA: Marta Maestas

Campbell, Robert (D-11)
2163 State Capitol (916) 445-7890
Leg. Aide: Myra Turner
2901 MacDonald Avenue
Richmond 94804 (415) 237-8171
Field Rep: Cynthia Harvey

Chacon, Peter (D-79)
5119 State Capitol (916) 445-7610
Sr. Consultant: Victoria Lugo
1129 G Street
San Diego 92101 (619) 232-2405
Chief of Staff: Irma Munoz

Chandler, Chris (R-3)
4017 State Capitol (916) 445-7298
Leg. Aide: Erika Neyhouse
1227 Bridge St., #E
Yuba City 95991 (916) 673-2201
Field Rep: Theresa Dennis

Clute, Steve (D-68)
4167 State Capitol (916) 445-5416
Chief of Staff: Burt McChesney
3600 Lime Street, #410
Riverside 92501 (714) 782-3222
Field Rep: Andrea Shorter

Connelly, Lloyd (D-6)
2176 State Capitol (916) 445-2484
Chief of Staff: Tim Howe
2705 K Street, #6
Sacramento 95816 (916) 443-1183
Field Rep: Sharron Goldstein

Cortese, Dominic (D-24)
6031 State Capitol (916) 445-8243
Sr. Consultant: Tom White
100 Paseo de San Antonio
San Jose 95113 (408) 269-6500
Leg. Asst: Eva Terrazas

Costa, Jim (D-30)
2158 State Capitol (916) 445-7558
Sr. Consultant: Terry Reardon
1111 Fulton Mall, #914
Fresno 93721 (209) 264-3078
Field Rep: Carrie Bowen

Eastin, Delaine (D-18)
2196 State Capitol (916) 445-7874
Leg. Aide: Barbara Peavy
39650 Liberty Street, #160
Fremont 94538 (415) 791-2151
Field Rep: Barbara Jones

Eaves, Gerald (D-66)
5175 State Capitol (916) 445-4843
Sr. Asst: Dan Colegrove
224 N. Riverside Ave., #A
Rialto 92376 (714) 820-1902
Field Rep: Rebecca Gil

Elder, Dave (D-57)
4126 State Capitol (916) 445-7454
Chief of Staff: Nathan Manske
245 W. Broadway, #300
Long Beach 90802 (213) 590-5009
Field Rep: Daniel Cartagena

Epple, Bob (D-63)
5128 State Capitol (916) 445-6047
Chief of Staff: Pat Garrett
8221 E. 3rd St., #206
Downey 90241 (213) 861-5966
Sr. Asst: Steve Barkan

Farr, Sam (D-28)
3120 State Capitol (916) 445-8496
Chief Consult: Toni Trigueiro
701 Ocean Street, #540-A
Santa Cruz 95060 (408) 425-1503
Chief of Staff: Donna Blitzer

Felando, Gerald (R-51)
5155 State Capitol (916) 445-7906
Chief of Staff: Penny Ann Williams
3838 Carson Street, #110
Torrance 90503 (213) 540-2123
Leg. Asst: Nancy Mulford

Ferguson, Gil (R-70)
2016 State Capitol (916) 445-7222
Leg. Aide: Catherine Pirie
4667 MacArthur Blvd., #305
Newport Beach 92660 (714) 756-0665
Field Rep: Jim Bieber

Filante, William (R-9)
5135 State Capitol (916) 445-7827
Sr. Asst: Linda Weightman
30 N. San Pedro Rd., #195
San Rafael 94903 (415) 479-4920
Field Rep: Paula Beale

Floyd, Richard (D-53)
4016 State Capitol (916) 445-0965
AA: Debra Thornsberry
16921 Southwestern Avenue
Gardena 90247 (213) 516-4037
Field Rep: Brenda Johnson

Frazee, Robert (R-74)
6028 State Capitol (916) 445-2390
Staff Coord: Steve Crosby
3088 Pio Pico Drive, #200
Carlsbad 92008 (619) 434-1749
Field Rep: Melinda Morrin

Friedman, Terry (D-43)
4139 State Capitol (916) 445-4956
Chief Consultant: Karin Caves
14144 Ventura Blvd., #100
Sherman Oaks 91423 (818) 501-8991
Field Rep: Susan Brandler

Frizzelle, Nolan (R-69)
3098 State Capitol (916) 445-8377
Leg. Aide: Laurie Paredes
17195 Newhope Street, #201
Fountain Valley 92708 (714) 622-5503
Field Rep: Lyla Ann Crawford

Hannigan, Thomas (D-4)
3104 State Capitol (916) 445-8368
Chief of Staff: Annette Porini
424 2nd Street, #E
Davis 95616 (916) 753-0367
Field Rep: Patricia Vernelson

Hansen, Bev (R-8)
3151 State Capitol (916) 445-8102
Leg. Aide: Rhonda Stevenson
50 Santa Rosa Ave., #302
Santa Rosa 95404 (707) 546-4500
AA: Onita Pellegrini

Harris, Elihu (D-13)
2148 State Capitol (916) 445-7442
Chief of Staff: John Waldie
1111 Jackson Street, #5027
Oakland 94607 (415) 464-0339
Chief of Staff: Laurence Reid

Harvey, Trice (R-33)
4177 State Capitol (916) 445-8498
Leg. Asst: Melinda Terry
1800 30th Street, #101
Bakersfield 93301 (805) 324-3300
Field Rep: Carolyn Schweer

Hauser, Dan (D-2)
2003 State Capitol (916) 445-8360
AA: Michael Krisman
510 O Street, #G
Eureka 95501 (707) 445-7014
Field Rep: Sandra Corcoran

Hayden, Tom (D-44)
3091 State Capitol (916) 445-1676
Chief of Staff: Christopher Wiley
227 Broadway, #300
Santa Monica 90401 (213) 393-2717
Field Rep: Clifford Gladstein

Hill, Frank (R-52)
4130 State Capitol (916) 445-7550
Leg. Aide: Robert McNitt Jr.
15111 E. Whittier Blvd., #385
Whittier 90603 (213) 945-7681
Field Rep: Thomas Aney

LICENSED TO CNLD.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hughes, Teresa (D-47)
3123 State Capitol (916) 445-7498
Sr. Asst: Joseph Hew Len
3375 S. Hoover Ave., #F
Los Angeles 90007 (213) 747-7451
Field Rep: Samuel Hill Jr.

Hunter, Tricia (R-76)
2002 State Capitol (916) 445-8211
Leg. Aide: Paul Takayama
333 South Juniper, #214
Escondido 92025 (619) 489-8924
Chief of Staff: Dennis Koolhaas

Isenberg, Phillip (D-11)
6005 State Capitol (916) 445-1611
Chief of Staff: Alison Harvey
1215 15th Street, #102
Sacramento 95814 (916) 324-4676
Field Rep: Michael Alcalay

Johnson, Ross (R-64)
2114 State Capitol (916) 445-7448
Personal Asst: Susie Swatt
1501 N. Harbor Blvd., #201
Fullerton 92635 (714) 738-5853
AA: Bruce Purcilly

Johnston, Patrick (D-26)
4112 State Capitol (916) 445-7931
Consultant: William Stokes
31 East Channel St., #306
Stockton 95202 209) 948-7479
Field Rep: Carol Hemminger

Jones, Bill (R-32)
5160 State Capitol (916) 445-2931
AA: Vickie Glaser
2497 West Shaw, #106
Fresno 93711 (209) 224-7833
Field Rep: Dan Evans

Katz, Richard (D-39)
3146 State Capitol (916) 445-1616
Chief of Staff: Kathy Fletcher
9140 Van Nuys Blvd., #109
Panorama City 91402 818) 894-3671
Field Rep: Laura Leganza

Kelley, David (R-73)
4158 State Capitol (916) 445-7852
Sr. Asst: Nancy Lucchesi
6840 Indiana Ave., #150
Riverside 92506 (714) 369-6644
AA: Margaret Weggelanc

Klehs, Johan (D-14)
2013 State Capitol (916) 445-8160
Leg. Aide: Wendy Notsinneh
2450 Washington Ave., #270
San Leandro 94577 (415) 464-0847
Field Rep: Lidia Alarcon

LaFollette, Marian (R-33)
3132 State Capitol (916) 445-8366
Leg. Asst: Jenifer McDonald
11145 Tampa Avenue, #17A
Northridge 91326 (818) 368-3838
Field Rep: Carolyn Mente

Lancaster, Bill (R-62)
5158 State Capitol (916) 445-9234
Chief of Staff: Bill Nunes
145 East Badillo
Covina 91723 (818) 332-6271
Field Rep: Mildred Erbe

Lempert, Ted (D-20)
2137 State Capitol (916) 445-8188
Chief of Staff: Tom Carol
1650 Borel Place, #229
San Mateo 94402 (415) 571-9521
Field Rep: Patricia Lloyd

Leslie, Tim (R-5)
4116 State Capitol (916) 445-4445
Leg. Aide: Carol Farris
1098 Melody Lane, #301
Roseville 95678 (916) 969-3660
Chief of Staff: John Allard

Lewis, John (R-67)
5164 State Capitol (916) 445-2778
Leg. Asst: Shirley Seifert
1940 N. Tustin Ave., #102
Orange 92665 (714) 998-0980
Field Rep: Barbara Warde

Margolin, Burt (D-45)
4117 State Capitol (916) 445-7440
Consultant: Catherine Leonard
8425 W. 3rd St., #406
Los Angeles 90048 (213) 655-9750
Field Rep: Shirley Buter

McClintock, Tom (R-36)
4102 State Capitol (916) 445-7402
Leg. Aide: Julianne Poggione
350 N. Lantana St., #222
Camarillo 93010 (805) 987-9797
Chief of Staff: Donna Jevens

Mojonnier, Sunny (R-75)
4005 State Capitol (916) 445-2112
Consultant: Linda Alla
3368 Governor Drive, #
San Diego 92122 619) 457-5775
Field Rep: Leslie Schult.

Moore, Gwen (D-49)
2117 State Capitol (916) 445-8800
Leg. Aide: Amy King
3683 Crenshaw Blvd., 5th Floor
Los Angeles 90018 (213) 292-0605
Field Deputy: Paul Krehbiel

Mountjoy, Richard (R-42)
2175 State Capitol (916) 445-7234
AA: Cecilia Ward
208 N. First Avenue
Arcadia 91006 (818) 446-3134
Field Rep: Cecil Dougherty

Murray, Willard Jr. (D-54)
3141 State Capitol (916) 445-7486
Chief of Staff: Ruby Anderson
16444 Paramount Blvd., #100
Paramount 90723 (213) 516-4144
Field Rep: Gloria Crayton

Nolan, Pat (R-41)
4164 State Capitol (916) 445-8364
Exec. Asst: Dee McCafferty
143 S. Glendale Ave., #208
Glendale 91205 (818) 240-6330
Chief of Staff: Bob Haueter

O'Connell, Jack (D-35)
2141 State Capitol (916) 445-8292
Chief of Staff: Cara Johnson
127 El Paseo, Studio 127
Santa Barbara 93101 (805) 966-2296
Field Rep: Gavin Payne

Peace, Steve (D-80)
2130 State Capitol (916) 445-7556
Leg. Aide: Patty Quate
430 Davidson Street, #B
Chula Vista 92010 (619) 426-1617
Field Rep: Shere Mann

Polanco, Richard (D-55)
2188 State Capitol (916) 445-7587
Sr. Consultant: Joey Fazio
110 N. Avenue, #56
Los Angeles 90042 (213) 255-7111
Chief of Staff: Sandra Chacon

Pringle, Curt (R-72)
4015 State Capitol (916) 445-7333
Leg. Asst: Jill Frechette
12822 Garden Grove, #A
Garden Grove 92643 (714) 537-4477
Field Rep: Rose Anderson

Quackenbush, Charles (R-22)
2111 State Capitol (916) 445-8305
Leg. Asst: Kim Weideman
456 El Paseo de Saratoga
San Jose 95130 (408) 446-4114
Field Rep: Gregory Butler

Roos, Mike (D-46)
3160 State Capitol (916) 445-7644
Sr. Asst: Michael Bowler
625 S. New Hampshire Ave.
Los Angeles 90005 (213) 386-8042
Chief of Staff: John Wasielewski

Roybal-Allard, Lucille (D-56)
5156 State Capitol (916) 445-1670
Consultant: Salvador Villasenor
5261 E. Beverly Blvd.
E.Los Angeles 90022 (213) 721-5557
Field Rep: Laura Jeon-Tweed

Seastrand, Eric (R-29)
4144 State Capitol (916) 445-7795
Leg. Aide: Eric Daniels
523 Higura Street
San Luis Obispo 93401 (805) 549-3381
Field Rep: Sandra Colby

Sher, Byron (D-21)
2136 State Capitol (916) 445-7632
Leg. Asst: Janice Hopcraft
785 Castro Street, #C
Mountain View 94041 (415) 961-6031
Field Rep: Georgia Perkins

Speier, Jackie (D-19)
4140 State Capitol (916) 445-8020
Chief of Staff: Michael Thompson
220 S. Spruce Street
S.San Francisco 94080 (415) 871-4100
Field Rep: John Baessler

Statham, Stan (R-1)
4098 State Capitol (916) 445-7266
Sr. Leg. Asst: Mark Powers
429 Red Cliff Dr. #200
Redding 96002 (916) 223-6300
Field Rep: Donna Decker

Tanner, Sally (D-60)
4146 State Capitol (916) 445-7783
Exec. Secy: Karen Lou Burks
11100 Valley Blvd., #106
El Monte 91731 (818) 442-9100
Field Rep: Luis Camarena

Tucker, Curtis Jr. (D-50)
5150 State Capitol (916) 445-7533
Leg. Aide: Traci Copeland
1 Manchester Bl. Box 6500
Inglewood 90306 (213) 412-6400
Field Rep: George Wiley

Vasconcellos, John (D-23)
6026 State Capitol (916) 445-4253
Chief of Staff: Anne Kronenburg
100 Paseo de San Antonio
San Jose 95113 (408) 288-7515
Field Rep: Diane Braughten

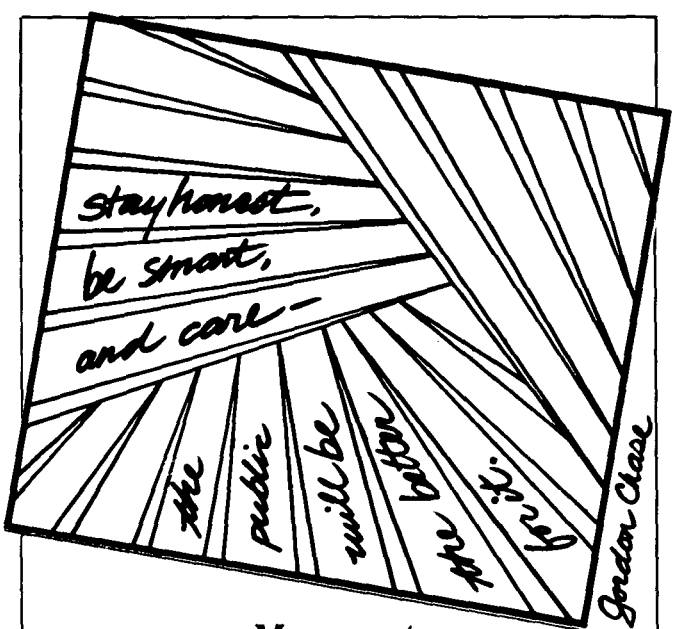
Waters, Maxine (D-48)
5016 State Capitol (916) 445-2363
Chief of Staff: Sandra Simpson-Fontaine
7900 South Central Ave.
Los Angeles 90001 (213) 582-7371
Field Rep: Karen Banks

Waters, Norman (D-7)
5136 State Capitol (916) 445-8343
AA: Rosa Lee Jones
250 Main Street
Placerville 95667 (916) 626-4954
Field Rep: Joseph F.X. Carroll

Woodruff, Paul (R-61)
2002 State Capitol (916) 445-7552
Leg. Aide: Jim Richardson
300 East State St., #480
Redlands 92373 (714) 798-0337
Field Rep: William Blankenship

Wright, Cathie (R-37)
3126 State Capitol (916) 445-7676
Leg. Asst: Jamie Kahn
250 E. Easy St., #7
Simi Valley 93065 (805) 522-2920
Field Rep: Kris Frank

Wyman, Phillip (R-34)
2170 State Capitol (916) 445-3266
Leg. Asst: David Grafft
5393 Truxtun Ave.
Bakersfield 93309 (805) 395-2673
Leg. Aide: Maudie Handel



Marquart
Policy Analysis Associates

2216 "L" Street
Sacramento, CA 95816
916/443-3335

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA STATE SENATE

(The capital mailing address for all members of the Senate is: Sacramento CA 95814.)

David Roberti

President: Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy (D)
President pro Tempore: David Roberti (D)
Majority Floor Leader: Barry Keene (D)
Minority Leader: Ken Maddy (R)
Majority Whip: Henry Mello (D)
Minority Whip: Newton Russell (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman: *Milton Marks*
Republican Caucus Chairman: John Doolittle

Ken Maddy

* The 31st District is vacant due to the resignation of Republican William Campbell. A special election to fill Campbell's seat has been set for February 6th. If no candidate receives 50 percent of the vote, a runoff election will be held on April 10th.

Alquist, Alfred (D-13)
5100 State Capitol (916) 445-9740
AA: Keith Umemoto
100 Paseo de San Antonio
San Jose 95113 (408) 286-8318
Field Rep: Dale Lane

Ayala, Ruben (D-34)
2082 State Capitol (916) 445-6868
Exec. Secy: Rooks Poteet
505 N. Arrowhead Ave., #100
San Bernardino 92401 (714) 884-1465
Field Rep: Donald Kipp

Bergeson, Marian (R-37)
4082 State Capitol (916) 445-4961
AA: Kevin Sloat
140 Newport Ctr. Dr., #120
Newport Beach 92660 (714) 640-1137
Chief of Staff: Julie Freeberg

Beverly, Robert (R-29)
5082 State Capitol (916) 445-6447
AA: Joshua Pane
1611 S. Pacific Hwy., #102
Redondo Beach 90277 (213) 540-1611
AA: Thomas Martin

Boatwright, Daniel (D-7)
3086 State Capitol (916) 445-6083
Chief of Staff: Barry Brokaw
1035 Detroit Ave., #200
Concord 94518 (415) 689-1973
Leg. Aide: Richard Laezman

Craven, William (R-38)
3070 State Capitol (916) 445-3731
Staff Dir: Scott Johnson
2121 Palomar Airport, #100
Carlsbad 92008 (619) 438-3814
Field Coord: Mary Jo Martin

Davis, Ed (R-19)
2048 State Capitol (916) 445-8873
Exec. Secy: Mavis Friday
11145 Tampa Ave., #21B
Northridge 91326 (818) 368-1171
Field Coord: Hunt Braly

Deddeh, Wadie (D-40)
3048 State Capitol (916) 445-6767
AA: Helen Jones
430 Davidson Street, #C
Chula Vista 92010 (619) 427-7080
Field Rep: Lettie Rodgers

Dills, Ralph (D-30)
5050 State Capitol (916) 445-5953
AA: Polly Gardner
16921 S. Western Ave., #201
Gardena 90247 (213) 324-4969
Field Rep: Earl Griffin

Doolittle, John (R-1)
5087 State Capitol (916) 445-5788
Leg. Aide: Bishop Baskin
720 Sunrise Ave., #110D
Roseville 95661 (916) 783-8232
Field Rep: Layne Allred

Garamendi, John (D-5)
4078 State Capitol (916) 445-2407
Sr. Consult: Masako Dolan
31 E. Channel St., #440
Stockton 95202 (209) 948-7930
Field Rep: Simeona Tiratira

Green, Cecil (D-33)
2054 State Capitol (916) 445-5581
Ch. Leg. Consult: Eileen Carroll
17100 Pioneer Blvd., #120
Artesia 90701 (213) 924-3026
Field Rep: Carlos Penilla

Greene, Bill (D-27)
4035 State Capitol (916) 445-2104
AA: Curtis Earnest
9300 S. Broadway
Los Angeles 90003 (213) 620-5600
Field Rep: James Shelton

Greene, Leroy (D-6)
3082 State Capitol (916) 445-7807
AA: Patricia Blakeslee
P.O. Box 254646
Sacramento 95825 (916) 481-6540
AA: Frances Burton

Hart, Gary (D-18)
2057 State Capitol (916) 445-5405
AA: Margaret Swan
21600 Oxnard St., #540
Woodland Hills 91367 (818) 716-2646
Field Rep: Susan Little

Keene, Barry (D-2)
313 State Capitol (916) 445-3375
Chief of Staff: Anne Kelly
631 Tennessee Street
Vallejo 94590 (707) 648-4080
Research Aide: Rick Provenza

Killea, Lucy (D-39)
3173 State Capitol (916) 445-3952
Chief of Staff: Craig Reynolds
2550 5th Ave., #152
San Diego 92103 (619) 232-2046
Field Rep: Kimberly Briggs

Kopp, Quentin (I-8)
3056 State Capitol (916) 445-0503
Chief of Staff: Jonathan Rubin
363 El Camino Real, #205
S.San Francisco 94080 (415) 952-5666
Field Rep: Warren Merrill

Leonard, Bill (R-25)
4062 State Capitol (916) 445-3688
AA: Elizabeth Klein
400 N. Mountain Ave., #109
Upland 91786 (714) 946-4889
Chief of Staff: Robert McKenzie Jr.

Lockyer, Bill (D-10)
2032 State Capitol (916) 445-6671
AA: Michelle Robrahn
6140 Stoneridge Mall, #515
Pleasanton 94566 (415) 847-6041
Field Rep: Claudia McCormick

Maddy, Ken (R-14)
305 State Capitol (916) 445-9600
Asst. Consult: Janet Carter
895 Napa Ave., #A-6
Morro Bay 93442 (805) 772-1287
AA: David Gray

Marks, Milton (D-3)
5035 State Capitol (916) 445-1412
Chief of Staff: Sherry Geiogue
30 N. San Pedro Rd., #160
San Rafael 94903 (415) 479-6612
AA: Elizabeth Doherty

McCorquodale, Dan (D-12)
4032 State Capitol (916) 445-3104
Consult: Terry Anderson
1020 15th Street, #B
Modesto 95354 (209) 576-6231
Field Rep: Maria Basulto

Mello, Henry (D-17)
5108 State Capitol (916) 445-5843
AA: Raymond Miller
92 5th Street
Gilroy 95020 (408) 848-1437
Field Rep: Gail Bathiany

Montoya, Joseph (D-26)
5064 State Capitol (916) 445-3386
AA: Manuel Zamorano
11001 E. Valley Mall, #204
El Monte 91731 (818) 575-6956
Field Rep: Carol Garcia

Morgan, Rebecca (R-11)
4090 State Capitol (916) 445-6747
AA: Jonathan Glidden
750 Menlo Ave., #100
Menlo Park 94025 (415) 688-6330
AA: Deberah Bringelson

Nielsen, James (R-4)
3063 State Capitol (916) 445-3353
Chief of Staff: Jim Branham
50 Santa Rosa Ave., #305
Santa Rosa 95404 (707) 571-1909
Field Rep: Charlene Groom

Petris, Nicholas (D-9)
5080 State Capitol (916) 445-6577
Prin. Consult: Felice Tenenbaum
1111 Jackson St., #7016
Oakland 94607 (415) 464-1333
Field Rep: Alfreda Abbott

Presley, Robert (D-36)
4048 State Capitol (916) 445-9781
Chief of Staff: Carla Anderson
3600 Lime St., #111
Riverside 92501 (714) 782-4111
AA: Thomas Mullen

Robbins, Alan (D-20)
5114 State Capitol (916) 445-3121
Asso. Consult: Teri Burns
5114 Van Nuys Blvd., #400
Van Nuys 91401 (818) 901-5555
Field Rep: Richard Varenchik

Roberti, David (D-23)
205 State Capitol (916) 445-8390
Chief of Staff: Mel Assagai
3800 Barham Blvd., #218
Hollywood 90068 (213) 876-5200
Field Rep: Anne Biondi

Rogers, Don (R-16)
2068 State Capitol (916) 445-6637
AA: Beverly Cail
1326 H Street, #15
Bakersfield 93301 (805) 395-2927
Field Rep: Vivian Ferguson

Rosenthal, Herschel (D-22)
4070 State Capitol (916) 445-7928
AA: Colleen Beamish
1950 Sawtelle Blvd., #210
Los Angeles 90025 (213) 479-5588
Chief of Staff: Lynnette Stevens

Royce, Edward (R-32)
4053 State Capitol (916) 445-5831
Chief of Staff: Joan Bates
305 North Harbor, #300
Fullerton 92632 (714) 871-0270
Field Rep: Corina Canales

Russell, Newton (R-21)
5061 State Capitol (916) 445-5976
Chief of Staff: Kay Lentz
401 N. Brand, #424
Glendale 91203 (818) 247-7021
Field Rep: Sandy Clysdale

Seymour, John (R-35)
3074 State Capitol (916) 445-4264
Prin. Consult: Terri Delgadillo
2150 Towne Centre Pl., #205
Anaheim 92806 (714) 385-1700
Chief of Staff: William Cranham

Torres, Art (D-24)
2080 State Capitol (916) 445-3456
AA: Linda Macias
107 S. Broadway, #2105
Los Angeles 90012 (213) 620-2529
Chief of Staff: Bob Morales

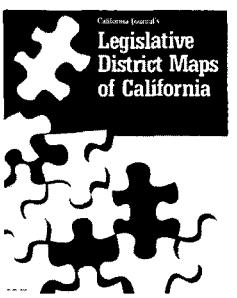
Vuich, Rose Ann (D-15)
5066 State Capitol (916) 445-4641
AA: Marilyn Hawes
124 W. Shaw, #B
Fresno 93704 (209) 445-5541
AA: Peter Vasilovich

Watson, Diane (D-28)
4040 State Capitol (916) 445-5215
Chief of Staff: Bob Campbell
4401 Crenshaw Blvd., #300
Los Angeles 90043 (213) 295-6655
Field Rep: Ernest Arceneaux

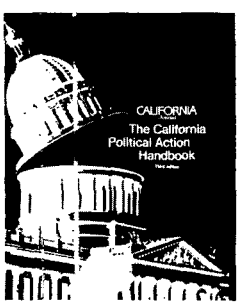
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It's a Grand Slam!

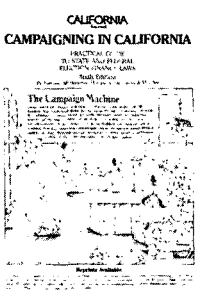
Four inexpensive booklets from **California Journal** can turn any group into a political powerhouse. These guides tell you hwo to figure out who your legislators are (Legislative Maps), how to accomplish what you want (Action Handbook), how to comply with campaign finance laws (Campaigning) and where to go to celebrate your victory (Visitors Guide). In quantities over 100, the four booklets **together** cost only $2.31, plus tax.



Legislative District Maps of California. Description of every Assembly, state Senate and Congressional district in California, including registration data and 10 maps. Also includes a brief history of reapportionment ofr the decade of the '80s. Price for this 8½ x 11", 16-page booklet: $1.95 ea.; 3-49 copies, 99¢ ea.; 50 or more copies, 74¢ ea.



The California Political Action Handbook, Third Edition. This award-winning guide to the political game in Sacramento answers these questions: How can an organization or an individual win in Sacramento? What tactics should be applied when legislative emergencies arise? How can the bureaucracy be penetrated? How can elections be won? Price for the 16-page, 8½ x 11" handbook: $1.95 each; 2-49 copies, 95¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 or more, 54¢ each.



Campaigning in California. A practical guide to state and federal election finance laws by the law firm of Nielsen, Merksamer, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller. This easy-to-understand, Q & A format includes changes made in 1988 by Propositions 68 and 73. 8½ x 11". Price; 1-2 copies, $1.95 each; 3-49 copies, 99¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 or more, 54¢ each.

Sacramento Political Visitor's Guide. A 20-page, full-color guide for persons visiting the Capitol for the purpose of making their voices heard in the political process. Contains maps of the downtown area and the Capitol building, information on the legislative process, where to wine and dine, places to stay and how to get around, 8½ x 11". $1.95 each; 2-49 copies, 99¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 100 or more, 49¢ each.

Please add 6.5% sales tax plus $2.00 handling to all orders. Write your order in on the handy insert card, or write yc ur own order and send it with payment (Visa and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASSEMBLY STANDING COMMITTEES

(All addresses are Sacramento, CA 95814)

Aging & Long Term Care
Chair: Connelly (D)
Democrats: Areias, Epple, Tucker, Vasconcellos
Republicans: Bentley, Hansen, Harvey
Consultants: Tom Porter, Jeannie Boyce
Secretary: Kathleen Moberg
1127 11th Street, Room 505 445-7272
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 4:00P, Room 444

Agriculture
Chair: N.Waters (D)
Democrats: Bronzan, Cortese, Hannigan, Hauser, Roos
Republicans: Chandler, Jones, Kelley, Seastrand
Consultant: Mike Falasco
Secretary: Jan Yockey
5136 State Capitol 445-1918
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon, 1:30P, Room 437

Economic Development & New Technologies
Chair: Farr (D)
Democrats: Areias, Cortese, Elder, Lempert, Vasconcellos
Republicans: Allen, Jones, Mojonnier, Wyman
Consultant: Kathy Krause
Secretary: Barbara Rhinehart
3120 State Capitol 445-0424
Meets: Mon, 4:00P, Room 437

Education
Chair: Hughes (D)
Democrats: Areias, Eastin, Farr, Friedman, Hayden, Johnston, Lempert, Murray, O'Connell, Vasconcellos
Republicans: Bader, Chandler, Hunter, LaFollette, Leslie, Woodruff, Wyman
Consultant: Reggie Fair
Secretary: Marcia Grant
3123 State Capitol 445-9431
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 2:00P, Room 437

Elections, Reapport., & Const. Amend.
Chair: Chacon (D)
Democrats: Bane, Elder, Isenberg, Klehs, Lempert, M. Waters
Republicans: Baker, Mountjoy, Pringle, Woodruff
Consultant: Deborah Seiler
Secretary: Connie Delgado
5119 State Capitol 322-5249
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 4:00P, Room 447

Environmental Safety & Toxic Materials
Chair: Tanner (D)
Democrats: Calderon, Connelly, Eastin, Hayden, Katz, Sher, Speier
Republicans: Allen, Bader, Jones, Kelley, Wright
Consultant: Arnold Peters
Secretary: Cynthia Pace
4146 State Capitol 445-0991
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 2:00P, Room 444

Finance and Insurance
Chair: Johnston (D)
Democrats: Bane, Bronzan, Chacon, Epple, Farr, Floyd, Katz, Margolin, Moore, O'Connell, Sher
Republicans: Bader, D.Brown, Lancaster, Lewis, Nolan, Seastrand, Statham, Wright
Consultant: Ken Cooley
Secretary: Betty Yearwood
4121 State Capitol 445-9160
Meets: Tues, 9:00A, Room 4202

Gov't Efficiency and Consumer Protec.
Chair: Eastin (D)
Democrats: Arieas, Chacon, Farr, Johnston, Moore, Sher
Republicans: Bentley, Chandler, Frazee
Consultant: Ann Evans
Secretary: Betty Johnson
1127 11th Street, Room 431 324-7440
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 2:00P, Room 437

Governmental Organization
Chair: Floyd (D)
Democrats: Bates, Clute, Cortese, Costa, Eaves, Moore, Murray, Polanco, Tanner, N. Waters
Republicans: Felando, Frizzelle, Hill, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Quackenbush, Statham
Consultant: Jerry McFetridge
Secretary: Bobbi Reed
4016 State Capitol 445-3451
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 2:00P, Room 437

Health
Chair: Bronzan (D)
Democrats: Burton, Clute, Cortese, Harris, Isenberg, Klehs, Margolin, Moore, Polanco, Roybal-Allard, Speier
Republicans: Allen, Felando, Filante, Hill, Kelley, Lewis, Quackenbush, Statham
Consultant: Paul Press
Secretary: Debbie Lott
448 State Capitol 445-1770
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 2:00P, Room 4202

Housing & Community Develop.
Chair: Hauser (D)
Democrats: Bane, Calderon, Chacon, Costa, Hughes, N. Waters
Republicans: Ferguson, Filante, Lancaster, Mountjoy
Consultant: Michael Krisman
Secretary: Jan Stork
1127 11th Street, Room 450 445-2320
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:00A, Room 126

Human Services
Chair: Bates (D)
Democrats: Bronzan, Floyd, Peace, Tucker
Republican: Hunter
Consultant: Dion Aroner
Secretary: Aurora Wallin
446 State Capitol 445-0664
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:00A, Room 447

Judiciary
Chair: Isenberg (D)
Democrats: Connelly, Friedman, Harris, Johnston, Speier, M.Waters
Republicans: Leslie, McClintock, Mojonnier, Statham
Consultant: Rubin Lopez
Secretary: Millie Anderson
6005 State Capitol 445-4560
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 2:00P, Room 126

Labor & Employment
Chair: Hayden (D)
Democrats: Epple, Floyd, Klehs, Murray, Tanner, Tucker
Republicans: Harvey, Wyman
Consultant: Patrick Henning
Secretary: Dixie Martineau
3091 State Capitol 445-2657
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 9:00A, Room 444

Local Government
Chair: Cortese (D)
Democrats: Hannigan, Hauser, Hughes, Moore, Murray
Republicans: Ferguson, Frazee, Lancaster, Pringle
Consultant: Casey Sparks
Secretary: Teri Brown
6031 State Capitol 445-6034
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 2:00P, Room 437

Advertisement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Natural Resources
Chair: Sher (D)
Democrats: Bates, Calderon, Connelly, Farr, Margolin, Tanner, M. Waters
Republicans: Frazee, Frizzelle, Hansen, Harvey, LaFollette
Consultant: Kip Lipper
Secretary: Ann Boone
2136 State Capitol 445-9367
Meets: Mon, 1:30P, Room 444

Public Employ., Retirement & Soc. Security
Chair: Elder (D)
Democrats: Epple, Hannigan, Hughes, Tucker
Republicans: Hansen, Leslie, Quackenbush
Consultant: Beth Martinez
Secretary: Stephanie Pitner
4126 State Capito 322-4320
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 2:00P, Room 126

Public Safety
Chair: Burton (D)
Democrats: Bates, Friedman, Roos, Tucker
Republicans: Bentley, McClintock, Quackenbush
Consultant: Laura Hankins
Secretary: Rose Morris
1121 L Street, Room 803 445-3268
Meets: Tues, 9:00A, Room 126

Revenue & Taxation
Chair: Klehs (D)
Democrats: Bates, Elder, Hayden, Isenberg, Peace, Tucker
Republicans: Baker, D. Brown, Pringle, Woodruff
Consultant: Andrew Meyers
Secretary: Irene Frausto
2013 State Capito 322-3730
Meets: Mon, 1:30P, Room 126

Rules
Chair: Bane (D)
Vice Chair: Filante (R)
Democrats: Eaves, O'Connell, Polanco, Speier
Republicans: Mountjoy, Nolan, Wright
Consultant: Bob Connelly
Secretary: Terri Wilfong
3016 State Capitol 445-8173
Meets: Mon, upon call of chairman, Room 3162

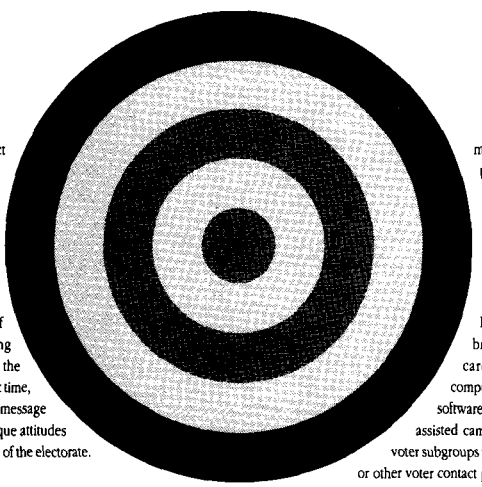
Transportation
Chair: Katz (D)
Democrats: Arieas, Clute, Costa, Eastin, Eaves, Hannigan, Harris, Lempert, Roos, Roybal-Allard
Republicans: Baker, Ferguson, Hansen, Lancaster, Quackenbush
Consultant: John Stevens
Secretary: Pamela Calhoun
3194 State Capitol 445-7278
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30P, Room 4202

Utilities & Commerce
Chair: Moore (D)
Democrats: Eaves, Epple, Lempert, Murray, Polanco, Roybal-Allard
Republicans: Frizzelle, Hill, Mountjoy, Nolan, Wright
Consultant: Randy Chinn
Secretary: Yvonne Wilson
2117 State Capitol 445-4246
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon, 1:30P, Room 447

Water, Parks & Wildlife
Chair: Costa (D)
Democrats: Burton, Cambell, Hauser, Isenberg, Katz, Peace, N. Waters
Republicans: Filante, Frazee, Kelley, LaFollette, Wyman
Consultant: Linda Adams
Secretary: Peggy Lusk
2158 State Capitol 445-6164
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 9:00A, Room 447

Ways and Means
Chair: Vasconcellos (D)
Vice Chair: Baker (R)
Democrats: Burton, Campbell, Clute, Friedman, Hannigan, Harris, O'Connell, Peace, Polanco, Roos, Roybal-Allard, Speier, M. Waters
Republicans: D. Brown, Felando, Hill, Jones, Mojonnier, Nolan, Seastrand, Wright
Consultant: Tim Gage
Secretary: Corky Layne
6026 State Capitol 445-7082
Meets: Wed, 9:00A, Room 4202

TARGETED DIRECT MAIL WINS ELECTIONS



Political Direct Mail must be on target — in order to be effective. When mail misses the mark — dollars are wasted, elections are lost. There are two kinds of targeting 1) ensuring that mail is sent to the right voters at the right time, and 2) tailoring the message to respond to the unique attitudes of different subgroups of the electorate.

most sophisticated political computer software and product line anywhere. Below, Tobe & Associates provides full-service political direct mail from laser letters, to printed brochures, to slate cards. State-of-the-art computers and cutting edge software enable Below, Tobe-assisted campaigns to target key voter subgroups for walking, phoning, or other voter contact programs.

Below, Tobe & Associates has pioneered targeted direct mail programs in election after election across America. Since 1971, working with consultants, agencies, campaigns and candidates, Below, Tobe & Associates has been refining the

Founded in 1971 to apply computer technology to winning elections, Below, Tobe & Associates has become America's leading political computer products company.

Below, Tobe & Associates, Inc.
America's Leading Political Computer Products Company

Washington D.C. - Bob Blaemire 7801 Norfolk Avenue, Bethesda, MD 20814, 301-656-4966
Los Angeles, CA - Frank Tobe 4745 Alla Road, Marina del Rey, CA 90292, 213-306-1989

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

(All addresses are Sacramento, CA 95814)

Agriculture & Water Resources
Chair: Ayala (D)
Democrats: C.Green, McCorquodale, Mello, Presley, Vuich
Republicans: Bergeson, Craven, Doolittle, Nielsen, Rogers
Consultant: Stephen Macola
Secretary: Mona Summers
2090 State Capitol 445-2206
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30P, Room 112

Appropriations
Chair: Presley (D)
Vice Chair: Beverly (R)
Democrats: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Deddeh, Dills, Lockyer, Torres
Republicans: Bergeson, Doolittle
Consultant: Karen French, Lee Bennett
Secretary: Nathalene Lewis
2206 State Capitol 445-3284
Meets: Mon, 9:30A, Room 4203

Banking and Commerce
Chair: Vuich (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Deddeh, L. Greene, Hart, Mello, Montoya, Robbins
Republicans: Beverly, Davis, Russell
Consultant: Terry Miller
Secretary: Anna Andrews
2193 State Capitol 445-6306
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 1:30P, Room 3191

Bonded Indebtedness & Methods of Fin.
Chair: Boatwright (D)
Democrats: Alquist, Dills, Garamendi
Republicans: Bergeson, Rogers
Consultant: Barry Brokaw
Secretary: Robin Dunn
3086 State Capitol 445-6083
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 1:30P, Room 113

Budget & Fiscal Review
Chair: Alquist (D)
Vice Chair: Seymour (R)
Democrats: B. Greene, Hart, Keene, Petris, Robbins, Vuich, Watson
Republicans: Davis, Leonard, Morgan
Consultant: Steve Larson, Lee Bennett
Secretary: Barbara Besson
5013 State Capitol 445-5202
Meets: Thurs, 8:30A, Room 4203

Business & Professions
Chair: Montoya (D)
Democrats: L. Greene, Keene, Marks, McCorquodale, Rosenthal
Republicans: Craven, Doolittle, Royce
Consultant: Michael Gomez
Secretary: Rosa Maria Howe
5046 State Capitol 445-3435
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30P, Room 3191

Constitutional Amendments
Chair: Royce (R)
Democrats: Alquist, Hart, McCorquodale
Republican: Maddy
Consultant: Richard Mersereau
Secretary: Alison Spake Thomas
4061 State Capitol 445-2802
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 9:30A, Room 112

Education
Chair: Hart (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, Dills, C. Green, L. Greene, Killea, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Davis, Morgan, Seymour
Consultant: William Whiteneck
Secretary: Karen Woodford
2037 State Capitol 445-2522
Meets: Wed, 9:30A, Room 4203

Elections & Reapportionment
Chair: Marks (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, B. Greene, Lockyer, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Bergeson, Beverly, Craven
Consultant: Timothy Hodson
Secretary: Deborah Mitten
5051 State Capitol 445-2601
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 9:30A, Room 3191

Energy & Public Utilities
Chair: Rosenthal (D)
Democrats: Alquist, Garamendi, L. Greene, Hart, Mello, Montoya
Republicans: Russell, Morgan
Consultant: Paul Fadelli
Secretary: Patricia Stearns
2035 State Capitol 445-9764
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 1:30P, Room 112

Advertisement

Kimball Petition Management, Inc.

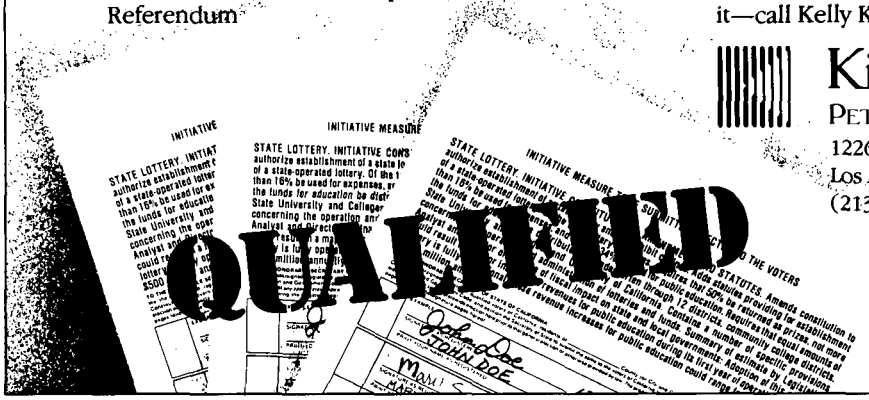
Over the past 12 years, Kelly Kimball has qualified more than 70 initiatives, referenda and plebiscites around the nation, including:

California, Oklahoma, North Dakota and Oregon Lottery Initiatives
California, Arizona and Florida Tort Reform Initiatives
Nevada Education and Income Tax Ban Initiative
California Toxics, Jarvis III, IV and Campaign Reform Initiatives and Peripheral Canal Referendum

Kimball Petition Management, Inc. offers the most sophisticated and proven methods of petition management available anywhere:

- In-house computerized validity rate analysis
- On-line access to all regional coordinators
- Volunteer coordination, direct mail solicitation
- Billings based upon valid signatures

So when you need a petition management firm that's qualified—and has the track record to prove it—call Kelly Kimball, President, at 213/821-5010.



Kimball
PETITION MANAGEMENT, INC.
12269 Sunset Park Way
Los Angeles, CA 90064
(213) 821-5010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Governmental Organization
Chair: Dills (D)
Democrats: Alquist, Garamendi, B. Greene, Keene, Lockyer, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Beverly, Maddy
Consultant: Lindsay Miller
Secretary: Billie Williams
5048 State Capitol 445-1193
Meets: Tues, 9:30A, Room 3191

Health & Human Services
Chair: Watson (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Bergeson, Maddy, Royce
Consultant: Bob Campbell
Secretary: Geri La Duke
2191 State Capitol 445-5965
Meets: Wed, 1:30P, Room 4203

Housing & Urban Affairs
Chair: L.Greene (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Killea, Marks, Torres
Republicans: Leonard, Seymour
Consultant: Kristi Lane
Secretary: Clare Lagomarsino
2205 State Capitol 445-8740
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 9:30A, Room 2040

Industrial Relations
Chair: B. Greene (D)
Democrats: L.Greene, Lockyer, Montoya, Petris, Rosenthal
Republican: Royce
Consultant: Casey Young
Secretary: Nancy Fox
4039 State Capitol 445-1237
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed, 9:30A, Room 2040

Insurance, Claims & Corp.
Chair: Robbins (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, C. Green, Keene, McCorquodale, Montoya
Republicans: Davis, Doolittle, Nielsen
Consultant: Jim Cathcart
Secretary: Maureen Brooks
5122 State Capitol 445-0825
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30P, Room 112

Judiciary
Chair: Lockyer (D)
Democrats: Keene, Marks, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Davis, Doolittle, Royce
Consultant: Gene Wong
Secretary: Lynne Hashimoto-Myers
2817 State Capitol 445-5957
Meets: Tues, 1:30P, Room 4203

Local Government
Chair: Bergeson (R)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Ayala, C. Green, McCorquodale, Presley
Republicans: Craven, Leonard, Russell
Consultant: Peter Detwiler
Secretary: Kaye Packard
2085 State Capitol 445-9748
Meets: Wed, 9:30A, Room 112

Natural Resources & Wildlife
Chair: McCorquodale (D)
Democrats: Garamendi, Hart, Marks, Mello, Presley
Republicans: Leonard, Nielsen, Rogers
Consultant: Peter Szego
Secretary: Shirley Smaage
2031 State Capitol 445-5441
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 9:30A, Room 4203

Public Employ. & Retirement
Chair: C.Green (D)
Democrats: McCorquodale, Watson
Republicans: Rogers, Royce
Consultant: David Felderstein
Secretary: Monica Wagoner
2203 State Capitol 445-8958
Meets: 1st & 3rd Mon, 1:30P, Room 2040

ACCURATE VOTER DATA

VICTORY TOOLS FOR DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGNS.

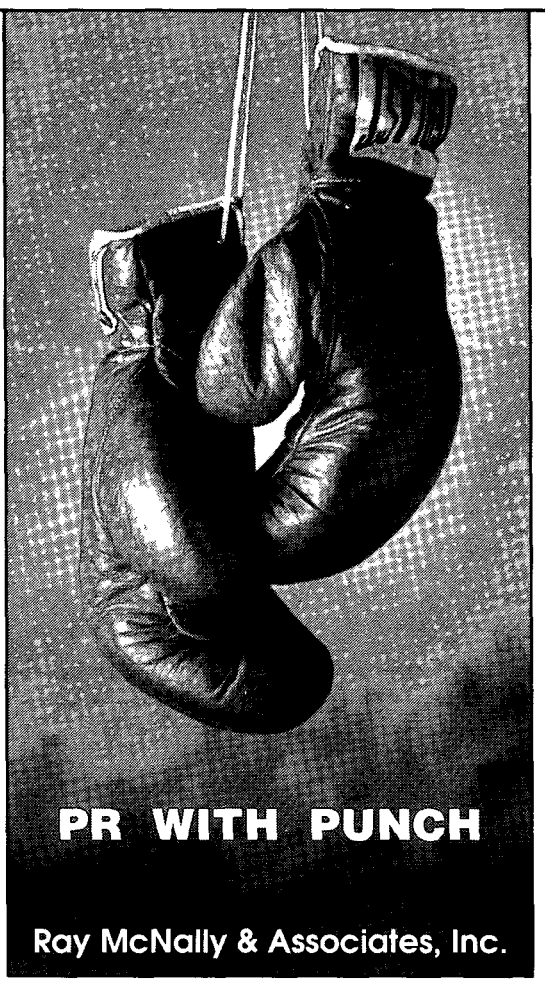
- Who-voted coding inventory.
- Current registration data.
- Developed with assessor and phone directory files.
- All California districts.
- Fast, reliable turnaround.

Personalized Letters. Polling Samples.
Mailing Labels. Count Reports.
Walk & Phone Lists.
Bar-coded Lists. Laser Printing.
Data on Floppy Diskettes.

Dedicated Democratic Support.

American Data Management Incorporated

(415)968-5800



Public Relations • Public Affairs • Graphics

1817 Capitol Avenue, Suite A
Sacramento, California 95814
916-447-8186

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Revenue & Taxation
Chair: Garamendi (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Ayala, Boatwright, B. Greene, Lockyer, Petris
Republicans: Morgan, Seymour
Consultant: Martin Helmke
Secretary: Rebecca Franzoia
4085 State Capitol 445-3808
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed, 1:30P, Room 3191

Rules
Chair: Roberti (D)
Vice Chair: Craven (R)
Democrats: Mello, Petris
Republican: Beverly
Executive Off: Cliff Berg
Secretary: Pat Webb
400 State Capitol 445-4311
Meets: Wed, 1:30P, Room 113

Toxics & Public Safety Mgmt.
Chair: Torres (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Killea, Lockyer, Rosenthal
Republican: Nielsen
Consultant: Bob Fredenburg
Secretary: Jolyne Budmark
2080 State Capitol 324-0894
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mon, 1:30P, Room 112

Transportation
Chair: Kopp (I)
Democrats: Deddeh, C. Green, L. Greene, Killea, McCorquodale, Robbins, Vuich
Republicans: Bergeson, Leonard, Morgan, Russell, Seymour
Consultant: M.Mehdi Morshed
Secretary: Jone McCarthy
2195 State Capitol 445-3182
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tues, 1:30P, Room 112

Veterans Affairs
Chair: Deddeh (D)
Democrats: Ayala, Dills
Republicans: Beverly, Rogers
Consultant: Johnnie Lou Rosas
Secretary: Carol Thomas
2083 State Capitol 327-2745
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues, 1:30P, Room 2040

useful telephone numbers
State Govt. Info. 322-9900
Capitol Tours 444-0333
Emergency Medical Care 445-3384
Legislative Bill Room 445-2323
Spanish Translator 322-4868
State Library 322-4570

LEGISLATIVE OFFICES

(all telephone numbers are 916 area code)

Auditor General
Kurt Sjoberg, Acting Auditor General
445-0255

Joint Publications
John Mello, Supervisor
445-4874

Legislative Counsel
Bion Gregory, Legislative Counsel
445-3057

Secretary of the Senate
Darryl White, Secretary
445-4251

Senate Office of Floor Analyses
Rick Rollens, Director
445-6614

Chief Engrossing Clerk
Marie Harlan, Clerk
445-5133

Senate Office of Research
Elisabeth Kersten, Director
445-1727

Senate Office of Protocol and International Relations
Susan Foreman, Director
323-9330

Senate Sergeant at Arms
Tony Beard Jr., Chief
445-6070

Clerk of the Assembly
R.Brian Kidney, Chief
445-3614

Assembly Office of Research
Steven Thompson, Director
445-1638

Assembly Sergeant at Arms
Charles Bell, Chief
445-2401

Advertisement

The Competitive Edge-

A degree in public administration, business, management or law from Golden Gate University

For the convenience of working adults, Golden Gate University offers:

- evening and weekend classes
- classes taught by accomplished scholars and top business professionals
- degree programs in many career fields leading to bachelor's, master's and law degrees
- convenient locations in Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay Area

Sacramento 916/648-1446
Bay Area Locations 415/442-7800

GOLDEN GATE UNIVERSITY · FOUNDED IN 1901

Golden Gate University, a private, nonprofit institution of higher education founded in San Francisco in 1901, is accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges

Advertisement

TYPES OF LEGISLATION

Bills can create new state laws and/or repeal or adjust existing state laws. Depending upon the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 132). Bill numbers remain the same during the Legislature's two-year, biennial session.

Constitutional amendments, also called "bills," actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot and are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.

Concurrent resolutions are used to adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs and SCRs.

Joint resolutions express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.

House and Senate resolutions express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal*, and they take effect on their adoption.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LEGISLATIVE ANALYSTS

Elizabeth Hill, Legislative Analyst
925 L Street, #650
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4656

Hill

Thomas Dooley Chief Deputy
(916) 445-3557

John Vickerman, Chief Deputy
(916) 445-5456

Hadley Johnson Jr., Deputy
(916) 445-6511

Lenora Martinez, Executive Secretary
(916) 445-4656

Business and Transportation
(916) 445-5921
Dana Curry, principal
Nick Bartsch
Emily Burstein
Marilyn Bybee
Bob Goldstein
Colin Lacon
Vic Roberson
Mark Taylor
Bill Wehrle

Capitol Outlay
(916) 322-8402
Gerald Beavers, principal
Daniel Becker
Wayne Keithley
Chuck Nicol
Robert Turnage

Criminal Justice
(916) 445-4660
Craig Cornett, principal
Lucia Becerra
Judy Fitzgerald
Julie MacDonald
Spencer Nelms
Gloria Rodriguez
Arnie Sowell
Gretchen Stahr

Education
(916) 445-8641
Hal Geiogue, principal
Ray Reinhard, K-12 Supervisor
Lisa Akeson
Daniel Alverez
Nancy Rose Anton
Rachel Lodge
R. Stuart Marshall
Michael Nussbaum
Donna Olsson
Eric Premack
Ellen Venturino

General Government
(916) 445-8481
Jarvio Grevious, principal
Joan Keegan
Marianne O'Malley
Steve Shea
Gary Turner
Alicia Wilson

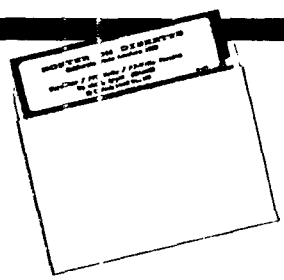
Health
(916) 445-6061
Carol Bingham, principal
Charmette Bonpua
Phyllis Bramson
Rob Egel
Virginia Puddefoot
Gabriela Uro
Biu Wehrle

Natural Resources
(916) 445-5616
Sarah Olsen, principal
Ruth Coleman
Malcolm Fleming
Nick Gustilo
Michele Harris
Rene Mendez
Michael Zelner

Policy Issues
(916) 445-5456
Mac Taylor, principal
David Illig
Paula Mishima

Revenue And Taxation
(916) 445-6442
Peter Schaafsma, principal
David Vasche, senior economist
Margo Buckels
Molly Hills
Juliet Musso
Dan Rabovsky
Reina Schwartz
Anna Trombettas

Welfare And Employment
(916) 322-8406
Michael Genest, principal
Larry Castro
Kimura Flores
Ann Kuhns
Chuck Lieberman
Frank Mecca
Bob Loessberg Zahl



1990 ROSTER ON DISKETTE

All the names and addresses in the 1990 *Roster and Government Guide* are available in computer-readable format as well.

The new 1990 *Roster on Diskette* makes it possible for you to create personalized mailings and lists and directories of your own design without the headache of entering the *Roster* data yourself.

The purchase price includes the right to update your diskette for only $5.00 anytime for one year (just send in your original diskette with $5.00, and an updated diskette with the latest changes will be sent by return mail).

Files on *Roster on Diskette* serve as data files for your own programs. One of three formats for IBM-compatibles is available: dBase, Word Perfect, or WordStar, DFS or PC-Write (ASCII delimited).

If you mail just one personalized letter to the Legislature this year, this will more than pay for itself.

To place your order send $49.00 plus $3.31 sales tax and $2.50 handling to:

California Journal Diskette
1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814

Be sure to specify data format.

Trademarks: IBM, International Business Machines Corporation; dBase, Ashton Tate Inc.; WordStar, MicroPro International; WordPerfect, WordPerfect Corporation.

Popular Labels For People With Masters Degrees in Public Administration from The University of Southern California Sacramento Center Include:

LEADERS
POLICY MAKERS
MANAGERS
ENTREPRENEURS
SUCCESSFUL!

Learn how you, too, can step ahead and stay ahead in a career in Public Administration.

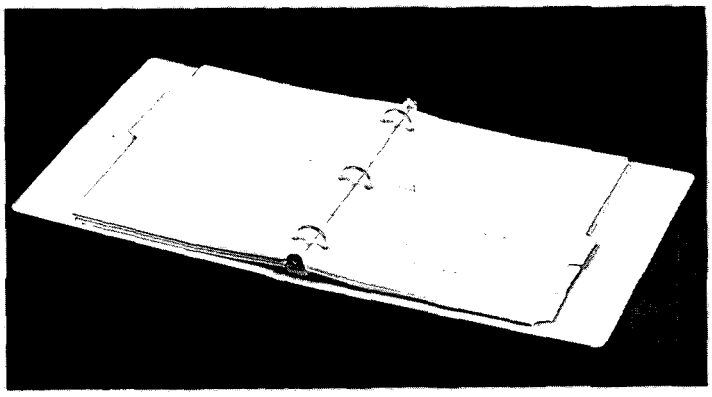
USC

Call or write:
University of Southern California Sacramento Center
1201 J Street
Sacramento, CA 95814
916/442-6911

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Quarterly California State Government Directory

with Looseleaf Update Service



Only $95 for a one-year subscription

Includes:

- All members of the state Senate and Assembly: staff, offices, addresses and phone numbers.
- Senate and Assembly Committees: Members, staff, addresses and phone numbers.
- All Joint, Select and Special Committees
- All Special Offices of the Legislature
- Constitutional Officers; staff, addresses and phone numbers.
- State Agencies, Departments, Boards and Commissions
- Other important phone numbers
- Index: **Over 3000 listings**
- Looseeaf binder, with section tabs
- **Updated every three months**

For more information or to order, please call 916/444-2840.

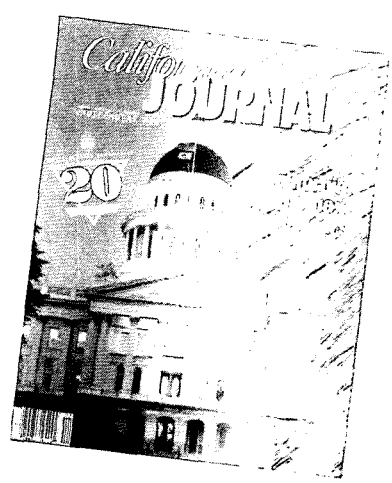
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR 1990

Jan. 1	Bills enacted on or before October 2, 1989, take effect.
Jan. 3	Legislature reconvenes.
Jan. 10	Budget must be submitted by Governor on or before this date.
Jan. 12	Last day for policy committees to hear and report Assembly bills introduced in 1989 for referral to fiscal committees.
Jan. 19	Last day for any committee to hear and report Assembly bills introduced in 1989 requiring further action.
Jan. 25	Legislative measures scheduled to appear on the June 5th ballot must be chaptered by this date.
*Jan. 30	Last day for Assembly to pass to the Senate Assembly bills introduced in 1989. (Constitutional amendments are not affected by this deadline).
Mar. 2	Last day to introduce bills.
Apr. 5	Easter recess begins on adjournment.
Apr. 16	Legislature reconvenes.
Apr. 27	Last day for policy committees to hear and report Assembly Bills for referral to fiscal committees.
May 11	Last day for policy committees to hear and report Assembly Bills.
June 1	Last day for policy committees to meet and report bills prior to June 18th.
June 8	Last day for fiscal committees to hear and report Assembly Bills.
*June 8	Last day on which any committee may meet prior to June 18th.
June 15	Last day for Assembly to pass Assembly Bills.
June 18	Committee meetings may resume.
June 28	Legislative measures scheduled to appear on the November 6th ballot must be chaptered by this date.
July 6	Last day for policy committees to hear and report Senate Bills for referral to fiscal committees. Summer recess begins on adjournment.
Aug. 6	Legislature reconvenes.
Aug. 10	Last day for policy committees to meet and report Senate Bills.
Aug. 17	Last day for fiscal committees to meet and report Senate Bills
*Aug. 17	Last day on which any committee may meet for the purpose of hearing any bill.
Aug. 31	Last day for any bill to be passed which is to become law on January 1, 1991. Final recess begins on adjournment.
Sept. 30	Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills passed by the Legislature before September 1st and in his possession on or after September 1st.
Oct. 2	Bills enacted on or before this day take effect on January 1, 1991.
Nov. 15	Last day to present bills to Governor.
Nov. 27	Last day for Governor to sign or veto bills.
Nov. 30	ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE.
Dec. 3	Convening of 1991-92 Regular Session.

*This deadline APPLIES TO ALL bills, constitutional amendments and bills which would go into immediate effect pursuant to Section 8 of Article IV of the Constitution.

Have You Read Your Bible This Month?



California's "political bible," *California Journal* has provided reliable, inside information or California politics, issues and personalities every month for 20 years.

Each issue provides in-depth coverage of major issues in the nation's largest state, and analyses of the Why and How of current state affairs.

In addition to in-depth articles, regular features include:
—Voting records of the Senate and Assembly;
—Report from our Washington correspondent;
—The popular Up Front collection of humor and gossip;
—Status of initiatives and referenda.

Your subscription also entitles you to receive special booklets at no extra charge, such as the annual Roster & Government Guide, Ballot Proposition Analyses, and others.

All of this is yours for only $32.00 per year.

GUARANTEE: If you are not completely satisfied, you may cancel your subscription at any time and receive a refund on the unmailed copies. Don't miss one more issue of the state's leading political publication. Call 916/444-2840 to order your subscription or write: California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's Legislative Process

Initial steps by author

IDEA
Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING
Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION
Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE
Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.
Bills with any fiscal implications, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Appropriations Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING
Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING
Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE
Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING
If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE
The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE
If the conferees fail to agree, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise (conference report), both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?
Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Using Bull computers, The State of New Jersey is creating a renaissance in effective public assistance.

The New Jersey Department of Human Services had a vision.

In their vision, public assistance provided the job training, job placement, education, child care, and other support that people need to reach their potential.

They called their vision REACH. But to make it a reality they needed a powerful computer and network solution flexible enough to manage mountains of data.

From a computer company committed to working with the State as a partner rather than a vendor.

Now the State of New Jersey has that new reality. And nearly 8,000 New Jersey citizens have reached so high that they no longer need public assistance at all.

Know Bull.

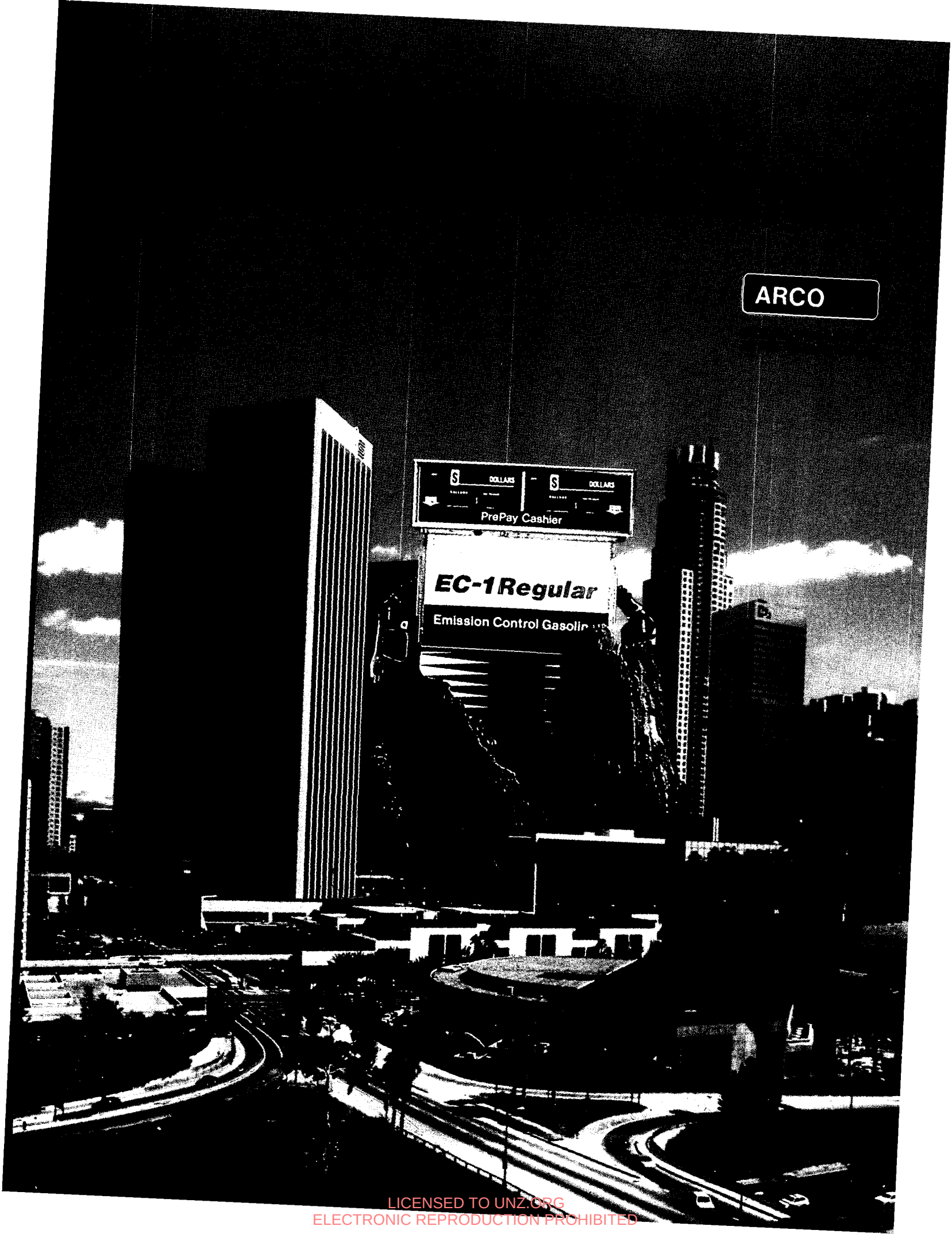
1-800-236-BULL ext. 160. Phone for our corporate brochure.

Worldwide Information Systems

Bull

KNOW BULL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOBBYIST CLAY JACKSON

The new "Big Daddy"

By Sigrid Bathen

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Clay Jackson likes to quote an old adage about lobbyists — that nobody actually *chooses* to be one, that "all good lobbyists got to be lobbyists by accident."

As California's highest-paid and arguably most powerful lobbyist, Jackson has made a science out of his accidental career, which began nearly two decades ago when he naively volunteered to "handle things" in the Legislature for the San Francisco law firm of his late mentor, legendary Sacramento lobbyist John P. "Packey" McFarland.

"There were five of us in the firm," Jackson recalls of his serendipitous 1971 decision, "and we said, well, there are a lot of heavy contacts in the Legislature that are important to clients, laws are important to clients, so who wants to do this? Nobody raised their hand except me, and basically that was it."

Jackson's lobbying firm, Jackson/Barish and Associates, in 1988 earned $1.76 million in lobbying fees, according to the annual lobbyists' report by the state Fair Political Practices Commission, making it the top moneymaker among California's registered lobbyists for the fourth year in a row. To nobody's surprise, Jackson expects to continue that record when the final figures are released for 1989. He figures his firm made just under $2 million last year.

Jackson is also a partner in the old-line San Francisco law firm of Sullivan, Roche and Johnson (California Governor Hiram Johnson was a founding partner). Jackson has always maintained a relationship with a law firm, in large measure to provide separate but "full service" to clients who might, at any given time, need legal services or lobbying. Significantly, fees for "pure" lawyering are not reportable, and services are entirely separate, although clientele is often shared.

Known principally as a lobbyist for the powerful, increasingly controversial insurance industry — which historically provides a major portion of his lobbying fees — Jackson's clientele is extensive and varied, including his original "Packey" McFarland client, the California Hotel and Motel Association.

Physically imposing at a husky 6'6", the 47-year-old Jackson is known as a formidable, sometimes ruthless negotiator with important control over the purse strings of his clients' substantial campaign contributions. Although he bristles at the suggestion that his legendary power is economic rather than artful (among other things, he has been called the new "Big Daddy" of the California Legislature) Jackson acknowledges the importance of money in plying the lobbyist's trade.

"His clients don't hire him for his policy analysis," says Steven Miller, director of the Insurance Consumer Action Network and a frequent Jackson rival in legislative and initiative contests. "They hire him for his clout."

"Some lobbyists are effective because of their financial backing, and some because of their own efforts," says William George, a lawyer and longtime principal consultant to the Assembly Finance and Insurance Committee who is now assistant chief clerk of the lower house. "Clay is somewhere in between. He does his research. He is informed. And he does have the PACs [political-action committees, which do-

---

Sigrid Bathen teaches journalism at Sacramento State University and once was press secretary to Attorney General John Van de Kamp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nate money to campaigns] behind him."

Assemblyman Patrick Johnston, a Stockton Democrat who heads the Assembly Finance and Insurance Committee, is somewhat more cautious in his assessment. "The insurance industry, along with business groups, trial lawyers and the medical profession, all are significant contributors," says Johnston with notable understatement. "It would be fair to say those contributions add to [their] access."

Jackson warms to any discussion of the role of campaign contributions in determining a lobbyist's access — and hence his clout — in the legislative process. Clearly, the intellectually formidable Jackson enjoys a spirited argument.

"There are lots of things that influence legislators," he says, smiling slightly. "Campaign contributions are one of them, and an important one of them." He cites another adage in his collection of homilies — the one about money getting you in the front door, but not guaranteeing a front-row seat.

"It's not an inscrutable situation," he says. "It's not one person or a cabal doing this — it's all sorts of people. The people in these systems are still people; they have jobs to do and goals to accomplish. A lobbyist is nothing more, nothing less than a private politician. Like all pragmatists, they take what tools are available to them to get the job done.

"I long ago came to the conclusion that there is very little that goes on in government that isn't a function of special interests, and there never has been."

Listening to Jackson talk about politics and political influence is a lot like listening to a college civics lecture or the ruminations of a law school ethics teacher, which he was for many years at San Francisco Law School. As he talks, the jargon of high-stakes lobbying sometimes takes on biblical, or at least constitutional, proportions, peppered as it is with terms like "the third house" and the "11th Commandment" ("thou shalt not speak ill of another lobbyist").

Mostly working behind the scenes, Jackson does much of his best work under pressure, and a lot depends on timing.

"Institutional governing bodies have difficulty making decisions," Jackson says carefully, beginning another in his arsenal of civics lectures. "As a consequence, the system itself tries to develop other methods to get effective decision-making to occur. Those methods may stay in place for a year or a few years. They usually end up being attacked."

While clearly driven by the workaholic-Type A behavior of a man at the top of a brutal, highly competitive profession, Jackson also knows how to take time out, often traveling, dropping from sight for days or even weeks during legislative recesses. His law office walls are lined with prints of historic sailing ships, reflecting his penchant for competitive sailing; he hikes and backpacks, is a member of the St. Francis Yacht Club, is on the board of the Marin Symphony and regularly attends the San Francisco Symphony and operas.

A native of Los Angeles, Jackson grew up in Orange County where his father, now retired, was an oil company electrician and his mother a police department records administrator. His father urged him to become an engineer, so he studied chemical engineering at the University of Southern California, then chose law, graduating from Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco in 1968. A bachelor and longtime resident of Mill Valley in Marin County, Jackson spends little time in Sacramento when the Legislature is not in session. When it is, he lives and breathes life in and around the Capitol.

Former and present Jackson associates speak with sometimes guarded affection — and a large measure of awe — about his style and methods. Some critics — former staff members and others, including some fellow lobbyists — refuse to be quoted by name.

"I don't think anyone in this town really knows Clay," says Joe Barish, a former national public-affairs director for the Del Monte Corporation who has been Jackson's lobbying partner since 1982. "He is so easy to make a caricature of — because of his size and his voice and his success ratio."

"He is highly intelligent, and he works extremely hard," says George Tye, vice-president for communications for the Association of California Insurance Companies, which Jackson represented for many years (Jackson recently parted company with ACIC after a long and bitter dispute over campaign strategy in the 1988 insurance initiative battles, although he continues to represent a host of insurers). "He is the absolute paradigm of a workaholic. He has the legal training, and a deep understanding of the insurance business. But his most valuable asset is his ability to strategize, to figure out what you need to do by the end of the year."

"He really is the new 'Big Daddy' of the California Legislature," observes Special Assistant Attorney General Michael Strumwasser, using the sobriquet bestowed on the late Jesse Unruh, a former Assembly speaker who later became state treasurer. Often opposing Jackson as Attorney General John Van de Kamp's principal adviser on insurance issues, Strumwasser says Jackson faces one "conspicuous disadvantage: He represents a client [the insurance industry] who is not very popular."

Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly, Sacramento Democrat and author of unsuccessful consumer-backed insurance-reform legislation opposed by Jackson, nonetheless praises his lobbying skill. "He can make very sophisticated arguments," Connelly says. "He's always very respectful. He even looks like a lobbyist."

James Cathcart, principal consultant to the Senate Committee on Insurance, Claims and Corporations, says Jackson and his staff are "very visible, very effective."

"Quite frankly, most of the third-house [lobbyists] stuff is real slop," Cathcart says. "I've been with the Legislature for 20 years, and one thing that characterizes lobbyists is not to work too hard, to be a little lazy. He [Jackson] is not lazy. He's very aggressive in putting his position across. He commands the respect of staff and legislators."

Not surprisingly, Jackson also has a reputation as a boss who demands much of his own staff.

"The world of the Capitol is about winning and losing," says Larry Kurmel, a former Jackson associate who now heads the California Bankers' Association. "Clay is a tough taskmaster. He demands perfection. He expects a great deal. He's a tough son-of-a-bitch, but I think the world of him."

And there is a darker side — tales of late-night, last-minute phone calls by Jackson to staff members, ordering them to accomplish near-impossible tasks in unrealistic time frames, of having no consideration for the personal plans of families of staff members.

"When he wants something, he wants it now," said a former staff member who asked not to be identified. "He has no regard for another person's feelings, no consideration for personal plans or commitments."

Obviously uncomfortable with the workaholic, slave-driver labels, Jackson defends his methods as stemming from "a great sense of responsibility to my clients."

"These are difficult issues," he says. "Sometimes you have to spend a lot of time working, but what are you going to do? I don't make any demands on staff that I don't make on myself. In politics above all things the critical essence is timeliness. What you can do today you might not be able to do tomorrow."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOXICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Living with Proposition 65

By Beth Gaston

Proposition 65 is working. Proposition 65 — "The Safe Drinking Water and Toxic Enforcement Act" passed by voters in November 1986 — is doing what it was designed to do: reduce the use of toxic chemicals and warn people about health hazards caused by those chemicals.

There are obvious signs that it's working: warning labels on bottles of booze and on tobacco products; newspaper ads warning about such products as Liquid Paper correction fluid by Gillette.

And there are not-so-obvious signs: Gillette reformulating some colors of Liquid Paper to *avoid* labeling the product.

According to those who have followed the often-controversial history of Proposition 65, the measure's true strength lies not in the headlines generated by that controversy but in the quiet way companies like Gillette are changing the use of chemicals to stay out of the news entirely.

As a result, observers say, Proposition 65 has helped California take important steps toward cleaning up its environment, even though some issues raised by the initiative have yet to be resolved.

Even proponents who at first criticized the Deukmejian administration for dragging its feet to implement the initiative say Proposition 65 is now having an impact.

Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, for instance, believes it's beginning to work, although he cautions that the final verdict will not be known for years. Connelly believes it will be five to 10 years before the initiative's final effectiveness can be measured, before "you can step back and look and see if it really worked."

"The measure has some statutory delays, and the administration made decisions constricting the impact," said Connelly, adding that the courts have ruled against the administration in nearly every case.

Proposition 65 requires the state to maintain a list of

Beth Gaston is a freelance writer from Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chemicals known to cause cancer and birth defects. The list is compiled and maintained by the office of Health and Welfare Secretary Cliff Allenby. Updated quarterly, the list is available to the public through Allenby's office and also is published in Title 22 of the California Code of Regulations (Division 2, Section 12,000).

Twelve months after a chemical is placed on the list, employees and consumers must be warned of exposure to significant amounts of the chemical; 20 months after listing, businesses are barred from releasing the chemicals into potential drinking-water supplies. Fines of up to $2500 per day may be levied against violators.

In a unique enforcement twist, private citizens are given the right to track down violators through a "bounty hunter" provision. Private enforcers receive 25 percent of any fines levied. Citizens need not show injury resulting from non-compliance but only that non-compliance took place. This revolutionary clause shifts the burden of proof from the citizenry to the manufacturer. Finally, Proposition 65 requires government officials to inform the public when an illegal discharge of any hazardous waste could cause serious harm.

Needless to say, the business community did not go quietly into this new world of regulation. As a result, Proposition 65 has been tested in court, the latest victory for proponents being the Gillette settlement and the company's subsequent reformulation of its Liquid Paper brand of correction fluid.

At first, business concerns tried to get by without providing any specific warnings. The Grocery Manufacturers of America, for example, set up a 24-hour, toll-free 800-number "toxics hot line," run by a group called the "Ingredients Communication Council (ICC)." Stores posted signs, and newspaper advertisements informed consumers of the hot line. Consumers were supposed to call the toll-free number for information on products containing Proposition 65-listed chemicals — not exactly the most convenient way to determine which box of soap is safe when standing in a supermarket aisle.

The signs and ads themselves did not list specific products or ingredients but simply stated that some items in the store might contain chemicals found by the state to be carcinogenic or a reproductive toxin. Consumers had to call the hot line with specific questions about specific products and brands to get information via a recorded message.

"Consumers had no clue what products might require a warning," said Cliff Rechtschaffen, deputy attorney general for environment. "Our view has been, publicly, as early as March 1988, that the 800 system is not an adequate warning."

In August 1989 a Sacramento Superior Court agreed, ruling the 800 system inadequate. The suit originally had been brought by the ICC, which asked the court to declare the 800 number a valid way to inform consumers. In effect, the court said "no." The ICC has since appealled, but that has not stopped progress on the court's ruling. Gillette's Liquid Paper correction fluid was the first test. Even though Liquid Paper was clearly carcinogenic, in the first year after Proposition 65 went into effect, only two people had received warnings about it, according to the attorney general's office. Gillette agreed on September 28, 1989, to pay fines of $300,000. But more important, the company decided to reformulate some colors of the correction fluid to avoid labeling them as carcinogenic.

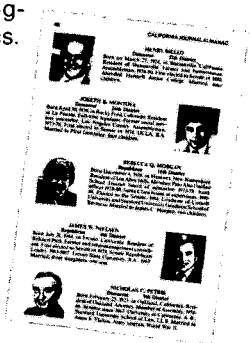
"Our ideal solution is what Gillette did — reformulate so consumers are not exposed to a dangerous chemical. That's

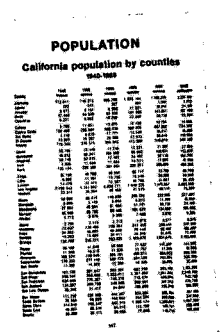
New 7th Edition!
Almanac of California Government & Politics

"Simply indispensable" —*Los Angeles Times*

This seventh edition of California Journal's **Almanac of California Government and Politics** contains 192 pages packed with up-to-date facts, figures and information on every aspect of California government and politics. **Included are:**

- **biographies of all state elected and top appointed officials;**
- **historic and recent election results;**
- **executive branch organization and phone numbers;**
- **Senate and Assembly district maps;**
- **judicial organization and names;**
- **congressional biographies, district maps, etc.;**
- **state budget summaries;**
- **higher education leaders and colleges;**
- **population information for the state, cities and counties;**
- **and much, much more.**





This vital reference should be on the desk of every person interested in California's government, demography, institutions and politics.

The **Almanac** costs only $8.95 plus 6.5 percent sales tax. And if you order 10 or more copies, the price is only $8.00 each, plus tax.

Orders must be prepaid by check, MasterCard or VISA number. Send orders to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the real reasor for Proposition 65," said Rechtschaffen. "I think most companies will do that now that they can't hide behind the 800 number."

But the Gillette decision and publicity surrounding product warnings are the surface gloss that takes attention away from the real impact of Proposition 65. According to David Roe, co-author of the proposition and senior attorney for the Environmental Defense Fund, the important result of Proposition 65 is not necessarily in the news.

Said Roe: "There's been more press attention on warnings because of the national food industry that has tried every possible way to squirm out from under the law, and that's made a lot of news. Our lawsuits that stopped them have made a lot of news. By no means is that the real story. What's interesting is what's below the tip of the iceberg. That's most important — the parts that are working without any public fuss."

Proposition 65 was sold to voters as a clean-water law, and that part of the proposition has been quietly effective, said Roe. Due to the 20-month delay between the listing of a chemical and the discharge ban, discharge bans on the first 29 chemicals did not begin until October 1989. Since then many big corporations, many of which publicly opposed passage of the proposition, have made sure their discharges are in compliance, he said. "When people stop [using toxins], they don't issue a press release saying we used to be hurting you and we're not anymore," said Roe.

David Arrieta, a policy coordinator with Chevron, said that Proposition 65 has caused them to "verify that our products and plants were very safe and can meet Proposition 65 standards."

Chevron contributed more money than any other company to the campaign against Proposition 65. Arrieta contends that "the opposition was with the unknown. We worked very hard for implementation guidelines. The proposition was very, very vague, very broad. The main thing that has really helped in terms of implementation and complying was the government regulations. Even though we're not completely happy with how the regulations turned out, they went a long way towards clearing up what was necessary."

Thus Proposition 65 has caused Chevron to look at products differently. According to Arrieta, Chevron considers "not just what [a product is] intended for but its secondary and third impacts, such as groundwater, waste and potential misuses of the product."

A spokesman for Dow Chemical, another major contributor to the campaign against Proposition 65, largely echoed Arrieta's comments. John Ulrich, Dow's public-affairs manager, said: "Bear in mind, as Proposition 65 appeared on the ballot, it did not define any major terms .... It's difficult to support a blank check."

Ulrich noted that Dow is "dedicated to compliance, but I have to question the significance of the law and its impact on promoting and enhancing public health." Ulrich feels that the law will lead to labeling nearly every product, and that the profusion of signs and warning labels will make the procedure itself meaningless.

Roe, however, believes that Proposition 65 has taken many quiet steps towards enhancing public health. Another example of quiet compliance he cites is the elimination of lead soldering in California food cans. The single biggest source of dietary lead is lead soldering in cans, he said, and once the food industry learned that it would have to label these cans as potentially causing birth defects, it decided to switch rather than fight. "It's a health benefit that environmentalists have been trying to get for more than a dec-

Advertisement

California Journal SEMINARS

Law-making
Budget process
Rules and regulations
Advocacy
Bill analysis
Bill tracking
Committee procedure
The art of testifying
Issues management
Contracting with the state

2300 PEOPLE
have taken advantage of our seminar program.

That's a lot of advantage ... for *them.*

California Journal's Institute For Policy Review conducts seminars and workshops on these and other subjects several times each month in various locations throughout California. For SCHEDULE INFORMATION or to be placed on our mailing list, contact **ROD TUTTLE** at (916) 444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ade. Proposition 65 is not a ban-lead-soldered-cans law, but it had that effect," said Roe.

Assemblyman Connelly agrees. "There are some individual successes now...," he said. "Some are public, but most manufacturers did not make a noise about it [changes to comply with Proposition 65] because it's embarrassing."

Despite its significance, Proposition 65 proponents have fought an uphill battle, not only to pass the law against industry opposition but to effectively implement it.

First, there was a squabble over what should and should not be included on the list of toxic chemicals. Environmental groups proposed that the state list 264 substances. Governor George Deukmejian's original list, released on February 27, 1987, included only 29 chemicals: 26 carcinogens and three known to cause birth defects and sterility. The state argued that of the substances proposed by environmentalists, only 29 could be proven to cause cancer and reproductive harm in humans; other chemicals were determined as dangerous on the basis of studies on test animals. The governor appointed a scientific review panel to study 201 other chemicals to determine whether they, too, should be listed.

Environmental and labor groups, including the Sierra Club, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and even the AFL-CIO, filed suit, seeking to force Deukmejian to expand the list. The Deukmejian administration claimed that all known carcinogens were listed; substances proven to cause cancer in animals are only suspected of causing harm to humans and therefore ought not to be listed. In an unusual move, Attorney General John Van de Kamp, who normally represents the governor in legal matters, refused to take the case since he felt the governor was wrong. Governor Deukmejian hired a private attorney.

In April 1987 a Superior Court judge ruled that the anti-toxins initiative required the governor to list more than 200 chemicals found to cause cancer or birth defects by national or international health agencies. Deukmejian filed papers in May 1987 to appeal the ruling.

In June 1987 the governor's scientific advisory panel added 27 chemicals to the governor's list. These additions were the result of a decision by the panel to follow a U.S. Environmental Protection Agency policy that accepts the results of animal studies in determining probable health effects in humans, thus undermining Deukmejian's original policy of listing only chemicals proven to cause harm to humans. The original ruling against Deukmejian's short list was upheld, in a move which Roe termed "a complete repudiation of his [Deukmejian's] original decision."

Warning signs became a requirement for the first 29 chemicals listed by Governor Deukmejian in February 1988.

On another front, tobacco companies, rather than label their products, sent a blizzard of signs to retailers. Although labeling their products would have been more efficient, tobacco companies wanted to avoid labeling products shipped to places other than California. Stores, to avoid responsibility for the accuracy of the warnings and to reduce clutter, did not post the signs. Thus, in many cases, no warning was posted at all.

In October 1988 the state named eight retailers and 25 tobacco-product manufacturers in the first major enforcement effort of Proposition 65. Vons, the state's largest supermarket chain, pulled cigars, pipe tobacco and most chewing tobacco products from its shelves on October 4th. By October 18th the tobacco industry backed down and agreed to label its products.

Currently, the major loophole in Proposition 65 is the Deukmejian administration's exemption of food, drugs and cosmetics — items regulated by the federal Food and Drug Administration. "The gist of it was that the FDA-regulated chemicals are deemed to satisfy Proposition 65," said Roe. He argues that FDA regulations are often not enough, which is why Californians voted for Proposition 65. A lawsuit is pending on whether the exemption is legal.

Jeffrey Nedelman, Grocery Manufacturers of America vice president of public affairs, stated that "it's important to point out that no really edible food product has been targeted for action yet. GMA has contended for the past two-and-a-half years that nothing that poses a significant risk for cancer or birth defects is marketed anywhere in the country." A major reason why food products have yet to be targeted by Proposition 65 is that food is exempted since it, too, is regulated by the FDA.

Nedelman continued, Proposition 65 "is so stringent that it borders on the ridiculous. The standard that is written in the law is 10 times more stringent than any safety standard used by any recognized health agency in the world."

Roe disagrees: "What you have is optional, casual, carcinogens being phased out." He also predicts that many companies will quietly remove hazardous chemicals from their products to avoid public disclosure.

"Very, very few things will need warnings, even if nobody cleans up," said Roe. "We're not talking about a world full of warnings, just that people responsible for chemicals will be a lot more careful about how they expose you to those chemicals."

Thus, Proposition 65 is showing that the mere threat of public disclosure can be a powerful force — especially when scary concepts such as cancer and birth defects are involved. And the big effects of the proposition are not made by those in the news, but by those trying to avoid being in the news.

Advertisement

The 6th Annual
Political Campaign Management
Summer Institute

July 13-15, 1990
at the University of California, Davis

The only university-sponsored campaign training program on the West Coast.

Find out what it takes to win an election from top political consultants with years of experience. Topics include

★ strategy
★ organization
★ media
★ direct mail
★ fundraising

For more information call (916) 757-8643, ext. 702.

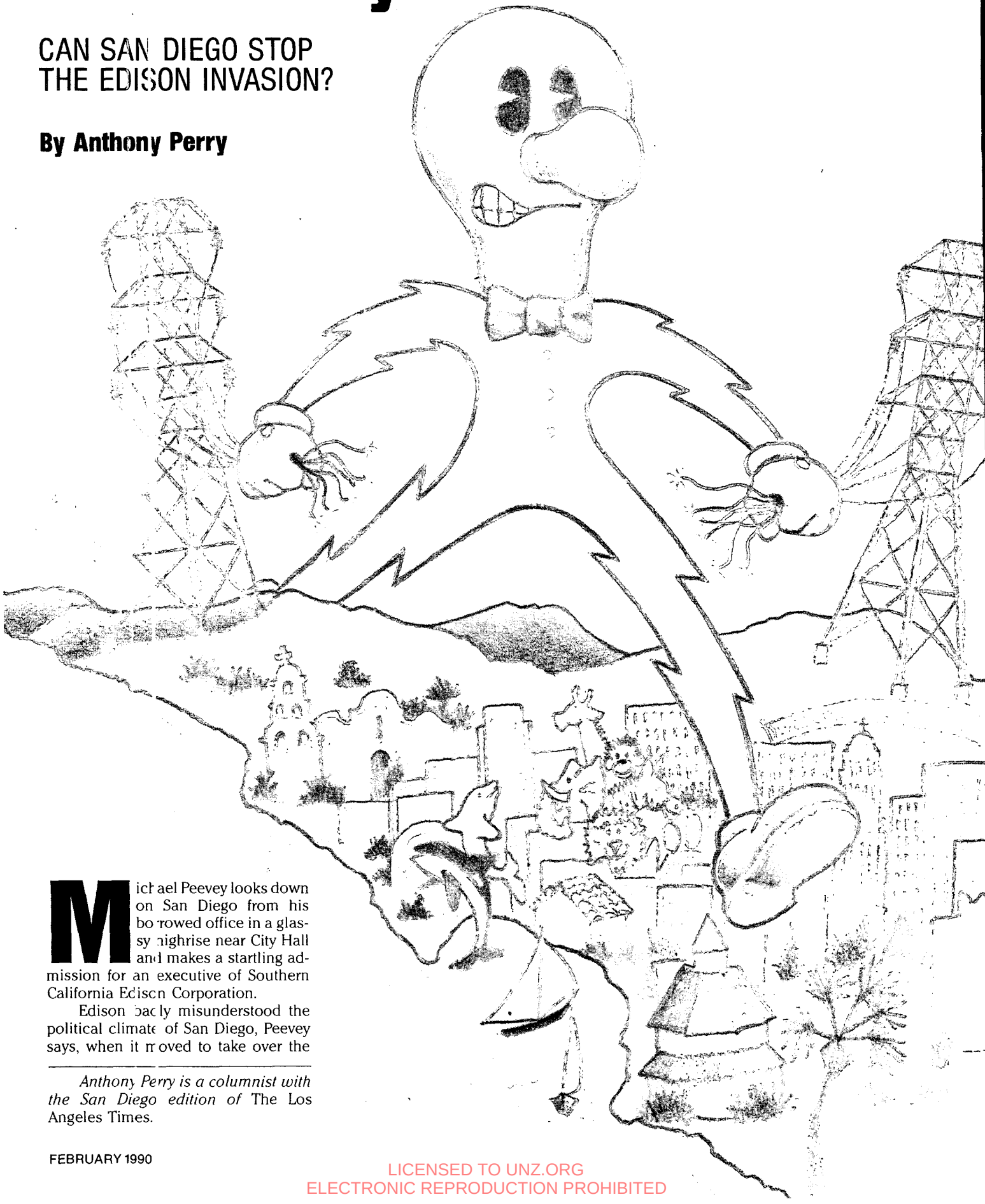
University Extension
UC Davis ■ Sacramento ■ San Joaquin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Power Plays

CAN SAN DIEGO STOP THE EDISON INVASION?

By Anthony Perry



Michael Peevey looks down on San Diego from his borrowed office in a glassy highrise near City Hall and makes a startling admission for an executive of Southern California Edison Corporation.

Edison badly misunderstood the political climate of San Diego, Peevey says, when it moved to take over the

Anthony Perry is a columnist with the San Diego edition of The Los Angeles Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

city's homegrown utility, San Diego Gas and Electric. One might as readily expect Joe Montana to admit misreading a defense in the Super Bowl, Donald Trump to concede he didn't understand the financial details of his latest deal or Michael Jackson to confess he had no idea how to please an opening night audience.

Southern California Edison, one of California's most powerful special-interest lobbies in Sacramento and Washington, with a mercurial chairman who counts the high-and-mighty of both parties among his contacts, was shocked at how rudely Edison was treated in the sunny city at the bottom of the state.

"We never expected this much hostility," said Peevey, Edison's executive vice president and point-man in its effort to sell San Diego on the takeover. "The level and intensity of the opposition was something we never could have imagined."

What smacked Edison in the face was a local *zeitgeist* that hates Los Angeles with a passion, has a deep fear of losing control of its economic future, and shows an uncommon ability to close ranks to repel an invader.

To fight the takeover, San Diego assembled a united front that not even intervention on Edison's behalf by U.S. Senator Alan Cranston and former President Richard Nixon, nor the work of a squad of public-relations experts, attorneys and political consultants, has been able to crack.

Peevey's education in the political ways of San Diego dates from November 30, 1988, the day SDG&E directors voted to accept a takeover offer by the Rosemead-based Edison. It had been a skillful seduction, a nice chapter for the business school textbooks.

The road to that vote, however, had been somewhat bumpy. At first, Edison had offered a friendly merger. The move would give Edison a combined 4.6 million customers and push it past Northern California's Pacific Gas and Electric as the nation's largest investor-owned utility.

However, SDG&E initially balked at the notion. Edison turned tough and went to court to obtain a list of SDG&E stockholders. Then Edison sweetened the deal by offering a higher price to shareholders, lucrative contracts to SDG&E's top executives and, although it was not revealed publicly until later, membership on its board to selected SDG&E board members. Finally, in November 1988 SDG&E's board voted for the merger.

From the first surprise offer to the final vote had been a scant four months. All that remained was review by state and federal regulatory agencies, where the combined lobbying and political clout of SDG&E and Edison would seem to assure approval.

That approval has yet to materialize, thanks in part to some unexpected and stubborn opposition by the city of San Diego.

Peevey had hoped that any lingering hard feelings in San Diego could be assuaged by courtesy calls on political and civic leaders. And maybe some media advertising and luncheon speeches to service groups and editorial boards. He soon learned otherwise. For starters, Mayor Maureen O'Connor refused to see him. She also refused to return the telephone calls of his boss — Edison chairman Howard Allen.

Allen appealed for help from Alan Cranston, an old pal from their days at Stanford. Cranston is also a longtime friend of O'Connor and her husband, Jack-in-the-Box founder and Mendocino Hotel owner Robert O. Peterson.

Cranston, then untouched by the Lincoln Savings influence scandal, wrote candidly to O'Connor that while Allen is a Republican and has helped raise campaign money for Robert Dole and Robert Packwood, "he has also helped in some of my fund-raising efforts.

"He is a fine person, honest, not a reactionary utility type and I am confident will do his best to treat San Diego consumers fairly," Cranston wrote. "I assume he will be wanting to talk to you sometime soon now that the merger is accomplished, and I urge you to see him."

The answer from O'Connor was unswerving: No private meetings.

What Peevey and Allen did not realize — although any politically attuned San Diegan could have told them — is that O'Connor, a Democrat, is at her most obstinate and resourceful when she senses that someone is trying to take advantage of the city in a business deal. She has fought long and uncompromising battles with a waterfront hotelier, a controversial car dealer who wanted city backing for a business-park venture near the Mexican border, and shopping-center developers who got control of a seaside amusement park.

O'Connor's frostiness was only the start.

In the weeks and months that followed, Edison found itself implacably opposed by three main power centers in San Diego: the Greater San Diego Chamber of Commerce; the city's dominant newspaper, the *San Diego Union*, led by its acerbic financial editor Donald Bauder; and a blue-ribbon committee of business and civic types.

The concerns were similar: That despite Edison's assurances to the contrary, the takeover could bring higher utility rates and increased air pollution (as local plants are stoked up to meet the needs of the Los Angeles Basin) and reduce San Diego to begging an out-of-town board of directors for help.

The ad hoc committee's roster was composed largely of Republican big-business bluebloods, executives who normally embrace a lusty form of free enterprise — hardly a bunch of hometowners reacting with knee-jerk parochialism. The committee chairman is Gordon Luce, chairman of Great American First Savings Bank, a longtime political confidant of Ronald Reagan. Clearly, the opposition was not limited to populist Democrats and consumer groups working out of crowded offices with rented fax machines.

The impending loss of SDG&E had struck San Diegans as another painful case of being demoted from major league to farm team, from corporate center to branch-office. "We might as well rename [the county] Branch Diego because that's all we'll have left," complained Chamber president Lee Grissom.

In the past decade, San Diego-based Pacific Southwest Airlines sold to US Air of Pittsburgh, Signal Company (whose arrival had been heralded as the beginning of a corporate era) merged with New Jersey-based Allied, and the Wickes Company conglomerate hit the financial shoals and moved to Los Angeles.

Adding athletic insult to economic injury, the San Diego Clippers moved to Los Angeles, and New York Yankee owner George Steinbrenner wooed away San Diego Padres' slugger Dave Winfield.

To counter the growing local opposition, Edison formed its own business support group, albeit and admittedly with lesser lights. The Edison committee is led by a Libertarian real estate agent who served a term on the City Council before losing a race for state Senate.

Former President Nixon wrote privately to conservative newspaper publisher Helen Copley, asking for fair treatment for Edison and Howard Allen. Peevey prides himself on answering all questions from the press, but he's reluctant to talk about the Nixon letter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"To the best of my knowledge," he said, "Howard Allen did not personally ask Mr. Nixon to write a letter to Mrs. Copley."

Was it done through a go-between?

"That's the end of my quote on this subject."

Edison also plunged into corporate philanthropy (including a grant to the struggling La Jolla Playhouse) and joined with SDG&E in an advertising blitz to convince consumers that utility rates will drop. Edison hired local attorneys, a local public-relations outfit and political consultants.

"We've spent an awful lot of time in San Diego in the past year trying to show people we don't have horns," Peevey said. So far, however, polls done both by the utilities and for local newspapers have consistently shown a majority of the public in opposition.

At O'Connor's urging, the City Council voted in closed-session to spend $2.5 million on outside counsel to represent the city's interests before the Public Utilities Commission and the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. And almost a year to the day after Peevey's failed attempt to see the mayor, the normally divided council voted unanimously to oppose the merger. The council hearing was marked by peppering questions from O'Connor about the size of Edison's indebtedness (larger than SDG&E's) and its reliance on foreign financing from unregulated markets.

If Edison stumbled in San Diego, its mastery of the political process in Sacramento remained intact. The two utilities managed to defeat bills calling for a public advisory vote on the merger and applying anti-trust laws to utility mergers; a bill requiring the PUC to do a full environmental impact report was vetoed by Governor George Deukmejian.

In 1988 Edison and SDG&E spent a combined $650,918 on lobbying activities. The two are regular contributors to political campaigns; they also provide a host of goodies to well-placed incumbents — fancy dinners, pro basketball tickets, country club golf fees, ski weekends and more. When the Super Bowl came to San Diego in January 1988, SDG&E offered free tickets to any interested PUC member.

There are other reasons, too, why fighting the utilities in Sacramento is considered a no-win proposition.

"Their people are smart, personable and have an amazing command of facts and figures on topics like rates and energy delivery systems that most people do not understand," said one Sacramento veteran. "All they have to do is play defensive ball. The utilities are government-created monopolies, and they got what they want from the Legislature decades ago. Now all they have to do is block any attempt at change."

Then-Assemblywoman, now state Senator Lucy Killea explained to the San Diego Rotary Club last summer how utility company pressure killed her bill calling for an advisory vote. Killea had been confident she had seven secure supporters on the Utilities and Commerce Committee, but when it came to the vote, she came up short.

"Between Edison, SDG&E and other utilities, I think they had enough people working on us to put a 24-hour tail on every member of the committee," she told the Rotarians. "I've really never seen anything quite like it in my seven years in the Assembly."

Every show of utility muscle in Sacramento has seemed only to stiffen the resolve in San Diego.

"I feel Sacramento has very little to offer in terms of helping us fight this merger," said Michael Shames, director of the watchdog group, Utility Consumers Action Network. "San Diego has a real sense of going it alone."

The final act of "going it alone" could mean a head-on collision in court with the utilities. The San Diego City Charter says any transfer of city franchises — such as that granted to SDG&E — must be approved by the City Council and is subject to a public referendum.

City Attorney John Witt says the takeover would require transfer of the franchise. Edison says it does not and insists that its position is supported by the California Business Code. O'Connor and the council have opted to wait until the PUC and FERC decisions before playing the franchise-transfer trump card.

Neither side shows any hint of softening. Edison and SDG&E would like the deal wrapped up by early 1991; O'Connor is adamant, "This is a bad deal. San Diego is the credit and Edison is the debit. They want San Diego ratepayers to bail them out."

At her State of the City address in January 1989, O'Connor included on her short list of praiseworthy San Diegans a prominent businessman (and merger specialist) who had quit the SDG&E board to protest the Edison takeover. When a slide was shown of Edison's logo marked with a red slash, her audience cheered.

Peevey pledges that Edison will work as long as necessary to win the hearts and minds of San Diego. And he still wonders how what should have been a two-day story on the business pages has become a prolonged war of political wills.

"It's still inexplicable to me how quickly this all occurred," he said. "I'm still not sure I understand San Diego."

Advertisement

Interested in Government Service?

The California Senate, Assembly and Executive Fellow Programs offer unique 11-month work experiences in the offices of state legislators or in executive departments of state government.

Earn 12 graduate credits from California State University, Sacramento *and* gain valuable professional experience.

Deadlines: Senate — February 14
Assembly — February 15
Executive — March 9

To apply or to obtain more information:

Center for California Studies
California State University, Sacramento
6000 J Street
Sacramento, CA 95819
916/278-6906

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,178 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. To qualify for the November 1990 ballot, sponsors are urged to submit petitions by March 23rd.*

New in circulation:

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT. PUBLIC HEALTH. BONDS — an initiative statute sponsored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp, Democratic Assemblymen Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento and Tom Hayden of Santa Monica, Albert Meyerhoff of the National Resource Defense Council in San Francisco, Michael Piker of Sacramento, Carl Pope of Berkeley and Bob Mulholland of Chico. The measure requires the regulation of pesticides, phasing out the use on food of pesticides known to cause cancer or reproductive harm, or chemicals thought to deplete the ozone. Among other provisions, the initiative limits gas and oil exploration and drilling within bays, estuaries and oceans; requires oil spill prevention plans; establishes an elected, statewide "environmental advocate;" and appropriates $40 million for environmental research and authorizes the sale of $300 million in bonds for forestry projects, including the purchase of ancient redwoods. This initiative is part of a three-measure package meant to coincide with Van de Kamp's quest for the governorship in 1990. (April 27th)

CRIMES. TAXATION. BONDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp, that would appropriate $561 million in 1991 to state and local governments for drug enforcement and treatment, and for gang-related purposes, with more money allocated in subsequent years. This appropriation would be funded by conforming state corporate tax laws with federal tax laws. Also, the measure authorizes the sale of $740 million in general obligation bonds for drug abuse, confinement and treatment facilities. The initiative also proposes various constitutional amendments to change some legal procedures and definitions as related to criminal law. The second Van de Kamp-for-governor initiative. (April 30th)

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. ETHICS. CAMPAIGN FINANCING — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute — sponsored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp, John Phillips of Los Angeles and Mayor Tom McEnery of San Jose — that would limit the terms of statewide elected officials and members of the Legislature. It would also limit gifts to elected state and local officials, ban honoraria and the use of public resources for personal or campaign use, and expand conflict-of-interest remedies against legislators and statewide officeholders. Among other provisions, the measure also establishes campaign contribution limits and provides for partial public funding for candidates who agree to the limits. This is the third and final measure in Van de Kamp's gubernatorial campaign strategy. (May 7th)

MARINE RESOURCES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by GOP Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress, that sets up a Marine Protection Zone within three miles of Southern California coastal waters between Point Arguello and the Mexican border. Inside that zone, the use of gill nets would be subject to an increasing use fee between 1991 and 1993 and would be prohibited after 1993. Sport fishermen would have to buy $3 marine protection stamps with their fishing licenses to fish in the zone, with revenues meant to help compensate commecial fishermen for loss of permits after 1994. (May 7th)

OWNERSHIP OF FIREARMS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Bernadine Smith and Gerald Hunt of Hanford, that would prevent public officials, the Legislature or any public body from denying, curtailing, prohibiting or taxing the right to bear arms, or from enacting any laws or ordinances that in any way register firearms — including so-called "weapons of defense" suited to fending off an invasion. Convicted felons and persons declared mentally incompetent would be prevented from possessing any firearms. (May 11th)

STARVATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Eleanor George of San Diego, that directs the governor to proclaim a "Day Without Starvation" within three years of the measure's effective date. The Legislature is required to adopt a resolution urging Congress to issue a similar proclamation and to fund breakfast for every human being on earth on that day. (May 14th)

TRANSPORTATION — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Craig Hendrickson, Christopher Huntington, James Kendricks and Anthony Hedayat of Los Angeles; by Jeffrey Sceranck and Jeffrey Young of Rancho Cucamonga; and by Graham Kaye-Eddie of Bakersfield — that creates a 15-member Southern California Monorail Transit Authority to build a monorail system within the counties of Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside and Ventura. Twelve members of the authority would be elected by area voters, and one each would be appointed by the governor, the federal Secretary of Transportation and the project developer. The system would be financed by a transaction-and-use tax on personal property transactions within the region, and by state-issued general obligation bonds. (May 14th)

CANDIDATES. CAMPAIGN FINANCES. GIFTS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gareth Neumann of Glendale, that requires all elected officials to resign their current offices before filing nomination papers for another elective office. It further requires that all campaign contributions be spent only on actual campaign expenses and that surplus campaign funds be transferred to the state controller upon conclusion of the candidacy. The measure also prohibits contributions that exceed $25 from any single source during a fiscal year, except those made by a candidate to his or her own campaign. A campaign would also be prohibited from incurring debt beyond available funds. Finally, the initiative bans honoraria, gifts or non-governmental reimbursement for travel or subsistence. (May 14th)

DRUG ENFORCEMENT AND PREVENTION. TAXES. PRISON TERMS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, that increases state sales and use taxes by one-half cent for four years beginning with the 1991-92 fiscal year. The money would be deposited in a "safe streets fund" to be used for anti-drug education, anti-drug law enforcement, prisons and jails and drug treatment. The proposal also prohibits early release of persons convicted twice for murder, manslaughter, rape or other sexual assault, mayhem, drug dealing or manufacturing, or selling drugs to minors. (May 17th)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY COMPUTER FORMULA — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Ken Gow of Whittier, that requires the use of computer technology to reapportion legislative, congressional and Board of Equalization districts. The measure also specifies such criteria as population percentages, district perimeters, methods for dealing with irregular boundaries, and district compositions. The ninth reapportionment initiative introduced for the 1990 election season. Two have qualified; two are in the signature-verification phase; and four have failed to gather enough signatures to qualify. (May 21st)

ALCOHOL SURTAX FUND — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Andrew McQuire of Sacramento, that imposes an additional tax on alcohol products. The tax would be five cents on: 12 ounces of beer, 5 ounces of wine, 3 ounces of fortified wine, or 1 ounce of distilled spirits. Revenues would be spent for, among other things, alcohol and drug-abuse prevention, treatment and recovery programs, emergency medical care, mental-health programs, child-abuse and domestic-violence prevention training. These funds are to be considered supplemental and not meant to replace existing funding. (May 25th)

GAMING COMMISSION. SPORTS WAGERING — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Demo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cratic Assemblyman Richard Floyd of Gardena, that would authorize betting on sporting events and create a state gaming commission to regulate all forms of legal wagering. The measure would also provide for licensing of those who engage in sports betting as a business, require local authorization for betting establishments and impose a tax on gross receipts of the licensees. Money raised by the state from sports betting would be earmarked for senior-citizen services, local governments and the gaming commission. (May 29th)

FOREST PROTECTION. TIMBER HARVESTING. BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Robert Bennett Sutherland of Redway and Cecelia Lanman of Arcata and supported by Forests Forever of Ukiah. that authorizes a 10-year state acquisition program for specified ancient forests, and a six-year logging moratorium in these forests. Among other provisions, the measure generally bans clear-cutting and burning of forest residues on all timberlands in the state, limits logging near waterways, imposes timber-harvesting permit filing fees, requires a state-funded program to aid loggers displaced by the new regulations, and revises membership and conflict-of-interest standards on the state Board of Forestry. Finally, it authorizes $742 million in general obligation bonds to fund the acquisition program. (May 29th)

Continuing in circulation:

REAPPORTIONMENT. POLITICALLY COMPETITIVE DISTRICTS. VOTER REGISTRATION — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Republican state Senator Bill Leonard of Redlands. (January 16, 1990; October 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATIVE TERM LIMITS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by John MacDonald of Santa Rosa and Gerald Partain of Bayside. (February 13, 1990; October 1989 *CJ*)

HUMAN LIFE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Andrew Eppink of Palmdale. (February 16, 1990; November 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by C.T. Weber of San Diego. (April 6, 1990; December 1989 *CJ*).

Qualified for June ballot:

CRIMINAL LAW — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by GOP state Senator Ed Royce of Anaheim, Colleen Thompson Campbell of San Juan Capistrano, and Kern County District Attorney Edward Jagels. (July 1989 *CJ*)

RAIL TRANSPORTATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral and James Knox of Sacramento and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (August 1989 *CJ*)

WILDLIFE PROTECTION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gerald Meral, Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly and Sharon Negri of Sacramento, and by J. William Yeates of Monterey and backed by the Planning and Conservation League. (August 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATURE. ETHICS. REAPPORTIONMENT. — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gary Flynn of San Rafael. (September 1989 *CJ*)

Petitions submitted:

REAPPORTIONMENT BY COMMISSION — an initiative constitutional amendment *and* statute, sponsored by San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening. (September 1989 *CJ*)

Failed to qualify:

SPLIT ROLL PROPERTY TAX — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Bill Zimmerman of Santa Monica. (July 1989 *CJ*)

LEGISLATURE. INTERNAL RULES. REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Brea. (August 1989 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by John Stanaland of Laguna Beach. (September 1989 *CJ*)

REAPPORTIONMENT BY LEGISLATURE; SUPREME COURT, JUDICIAL REVIEW — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by W. Bruce Lee II of Sacramento. (September 1989 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State

Advertisement

1990 California Studies Conference

C · ENVISIONING · CALIFORNIA

Join California historians, geographers, writers, artists, geologists, economists, ethnic studies scholars, political scientists, environmentalists, & anthropologists and representatives from state and local government, business, ethnic groups, labor, news media, & public organizations in a three-day interdisciplinary inquiry into the key policy issues, shaping historical legacies, & alternative futures for California.

February 8-10, 1990
Capitol Plaza Holiday Inn ★ Sacramento, California
Registration: $30.00

To register or for more information call:
Center for California Studies, CSU Sacramento, (916) 278-6906

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Cranston watch

There was a surreal quality to the rigorous schedule of "public forums" that Senator Alan Cranston followed during the congressional break that ended in late January:

"DECEMBER 11, TRANSPORTATION EVENT, San Rafael .... December 12, Education Summit, Pomona ... December 15, Women's Forum, Santa Ana ..." And so on, and so on.

California's senior senator doggedly went through the motions of earnest discussions with interested constituents. But everyone knows there cannot really be any other issue for Cranston anymore — not until or unless he can put the Lincoln Savings scandal behind him.

In the past, the 75-year-old senator always had an image of integrity and reliability that pulled him through, even with many voters who might otherwise have dismissed him as too liberal or, increasingly, too old.

That was before Cranston became entangled in the Lincoln mess. Cranston and four Senate colleagues have been accused of intervening improperly with federal regulators in 1987 on behalf of Lincoln Savings owner Charles Keating Jr., one of their most generous political bankrollers. Lincoln was finally seized last April by the regulators, who have charged in a civil suit that Keating and associates looted it of $1.1 billion through "sham transactions" and outright fraud.

Cranston's political managers scoffed for months that the Lincoln affair was inside baseball, of obsessive interest to journalists but far too arcane and uncertain to puncture the trust that Californians place in their senior senator. They quoted polls that showed no immediate ill effects on Cranston's popularity.

Recent statewide polls have robbed them of that assurance. A California Poll, taken in early December, found more voters viewed Cranston unfavorably than favorably (47 percent to 33 percent). Equally stunning, far more said they were inclined to oppose him if he sought re-election in 1992 than said they leaned toward supporting him (62 percent to 20 percent).

Although nearly half had no opinion, those who knew enough to respond were far more inclined to say they were dissatisfied with Cranston's explanation of his role in the Lincoln affair than to accept his version (34 percent to 20 percent).

For now, Cranston has no choice but to put his political and personal hopes in the secret deliberations of the Senate Select Committee on Ethics, which has been conducting a preliminary inquiry into the senator and his colleagues in the "Keating Five."

Cranston has said he expects full vindication when the ethics panel studies the facts of the Lincoln mess. Cranston says it will be shown that he never pressured regulators to go easy on Lincoln — only to expedite their endless investigations of the thrift — and that no rules were broken as he collected more than $900,000 for his campaigns and voter registration drives from Keating and associates.

Certainly, Cranston and his colleagues have a case to make to the Ethics Committee. Doubtless the committee's own members have leaned on a few bureaucrats on behalf of campaign contributors over the years, although the pressure on regulators and the largesse of the contributor are seldom on this scale.

Keep in mind that the House Ethics Committee refused last year even to investigate similar charges that Speaker Jim Wright of Texas pressured regulators to go easy on savings and loans owned by his contributors.

But Wright's ordeal also provides a more unsettling lesson for Cranston — that an ethics probe can be personally and politically devastating, no matter what the merits or the outcome. Wright resigned in the middle of an ethics investigation of his personal finances that proved too damaging and humiliating an ordeal. And House Majority Whip Tony Coelho of Merced quit before such a probe could even begin.

It may not seem fair, but even a clear vote of vindication by the Senate Ethics Committee could leave Cranston struggling to survive politically.

Voters may still want to know what Cranston thought Keating was up to when the conservative Republican raised almost a million bucks for the liberal senator. Cranston insists that in his "zeal" to encourage voter registration he would simply "go after people who had the capacity to give and a habit to give to causes." And when Cranston traveled to Arizona to hit up Keating for money, did the entrepreneur use the occasion to lobby for help with regulators? "I don't recall anything like that," Cranston says vaguely, adding that there was no explicit — and illegal — "quid pro quo."

There is every reason to believe that Cranston means it when he says he is determined to run again in '92. It is difficult to imagine him quietly filling out his term and fading away to some upscale retirement community. The senator has an almost religious obsession with ways to extend life, as demonstrated not only by his strict fitness routine but also by his support for research on the subject.

IN FACT, CRANSTON'S DETERMINATION to keep going virtually forever may be the best explanation for the frenzied quest for political cash that brought him into such a dangerous liaison with Charles Keating Jr.

Whatever Cranston intends, other Democrats are already counting him out. Representative Barbara Boxer, Democrat from San Francisco, has openly expressed interest in his seat, and Representative Mel Levine, a Los Angeles Democrat, is ready and willing to run. Another potential candidate for Cranston's Senate seat is state Democratic chairman Jerry Brown — who obviously hopes voters remain oblivious to the fact that, as governor, he signed the "anything-goes" deregulation law that permitted Keating to do whatever he wished with Lincoln.

(Larry Liebert is the Washington Bureau Chief of the San Francisco Chronicle.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

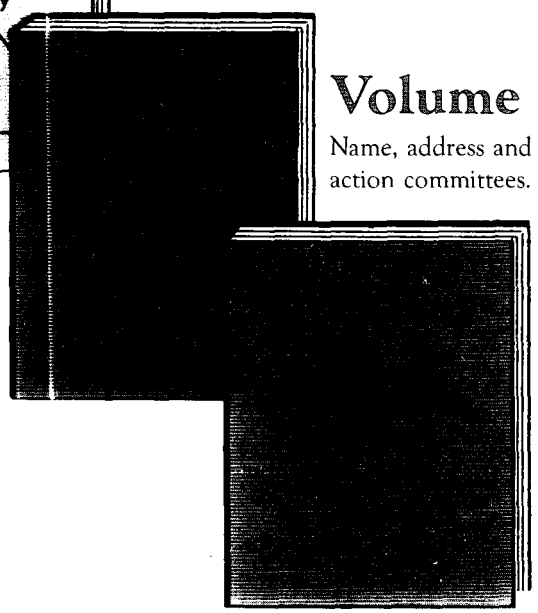
The California Directories

The three-volume set is an indispensible tool for corporate relations officers, researchers, lobbyists, press and government agencies who need to know who's who in California government and public affairs. *The California Directories* provide a quick way to identify the key players in state and local policy making.

Includes semi-annual update service.

Volume 1 — State Government

Names, district and capital addresses, phone numbers, party affiliation, and staff of the Legislature. Description of state departments and their top staff. 144 pages, 8½ x 11″.



Volume 2 — Lobbyists/PAC's

Name, address and phone numbers of lobbyists, firms and employers and political action committees. 186 pages, 8½ x 11″.

Volume 3 — Local Government

Every city and county with its address and phone number and top elected and appointed officials. About 300 pages, 8½ x 11″.

Special Offer

Order now for the 1991-92 biennium and get 1990 for only $54.00: three years of up-to-date information for only $249.00. A unique information system at a unique price!

This set is a joint production of **State Net®,** the nation's leading on-line 50-state legislative and regulatory reporting service, and ***California Journal.*** For information about electronic versions of Volumes 1 & 2, contact Wayne Kessler at State Net, 916/444-0840.

ORDER FORM

One Year 1990 includes two cummulative updates per volume in January and June 1990.

☐ Volume I, $65.00. ☐ Volume III, $49.00

☐ Volume II, $49.00. ☐ All Three, $149.00.

Three years 1990-1992 includes 2 updates in 1990, new volumes in early 1991 and three more updates through 1992.

☐ Volume I, $140.00. ☐ Volume III, $124.00.

☐ Volume II, $124.00. ☐ All Three, $249.00 (a savings of $139.00)

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

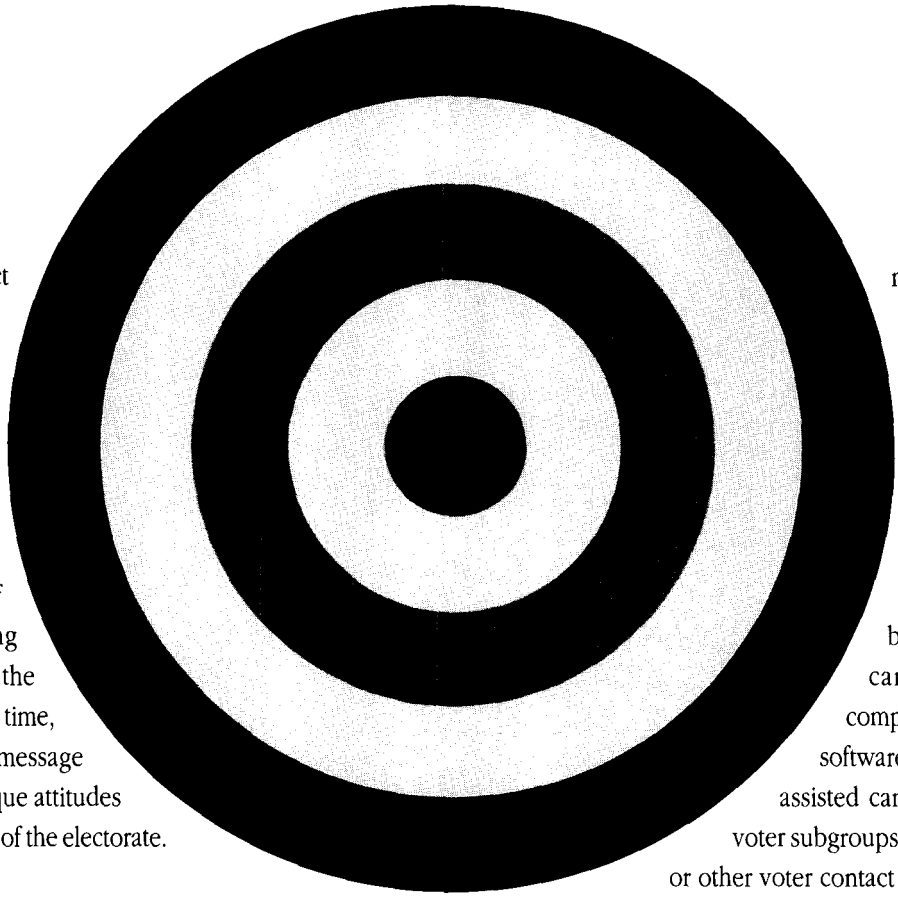
_____ Zip _____

Telephone # / _____

Please add 6.75 percent sales tax plus $2.00 handling to all orders.
Send orders to *California Journal,* 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TARGETED DIRECT MAIL WINS ELECTIONS



Political Direct Mail must be on target — in order to be effective. When mail misses the mark — dollars are wasted, elections are lost. There are two kinds of targeting 1) ensuring that mail is sent to the right voters at the right time, and 2) tailoring the message to respond to the unique attitudes of different subgroups of the electorate.

most sophisticated political computer software and product line anywhere. Below, Tobe & Associates provides full-service political direct mail from laser letters, to printed brochures, to slate cards. State-of-the-art computers and cutting edge software enable Below, Tobe–assisted campaigns to target key voter subgroups for walking, phoning, or other voter contact programs.

Below, Tobe & Associates has pioneered targeted direct mail programs in election after election across America. Since 1971, working with consultants, agencies, campaigns and candidates, Below, Tobe & Associates has been refining the

Founded in 1971 to apply computer technology to winning elections, Below, Tobe & Associates has become America's leading political computer products company.

Below, Tobe & Associates, Inc.
America's Leading Political Computer Products Company

Washington D.C. - Bob Blaemire 7801 Norfolk Avenue, Bethesda, MD 20814, 301-656-4966 ■ Los Angeles, CA - Frank Tobe 4745 Alla Road, Marina del Rey, CA 90292, 213-306-1989

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED